Class 285.9K Book M3
General Theological Seminary Library
Ninth Ave. and 20th St., New York.
Besides the main topic this book also treats of

Subject No.	*On page*	*Subject No.*	*On pag*

1/m 2

#6.- Scarce

MARTIN MARPRELATE.

By the same Author,

THE ANCIENT LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

According to the Uses of SARUM, BANGOR, YORK, and HEREFORD, and the MODERN ROMAN LITURGY, arranged in parallel Columns.

London. William Pickering. 1844.

8vo. 9*s*. 6*d*.

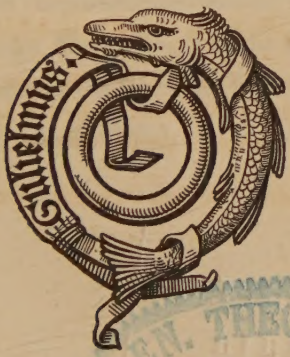
A HISTORY OF THE

Martin Marprelate Controversy

IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM MASKELL M.A.



PRINCETON THEOL. SEM. LIBRARY

LONDON

WILLIAM PICKERING

1845

2058
285.9K
M37

CHARLES WHITTINGHAM, CHISWICK.

THE following pages contain a reprint, with considerable additions, of an Article "*Martin Marprelate,*" in the third quarterly number of the Christian Remembrancer. (No. xlviij. April 1845.)

INDEX.

	Page	
THE Epistle	12.	29.
The Epitome	13.	29.
The Admonition	14.	73.
Hay any Worke	14.	91.
Penry's Appellation	15.	110.
The Dialogue	15.	141.
M. Some laid open in his coulers	16.	120.
The Protestation	16.	128.
The Theses	17.	149.
The Just Censure	18.	151.
Pappe with an Hatchet	18.	168.
The Countercuffe	19.	168.
An Almond for a Parrat	19.	182.
Return of Pasquil	19.	177.
The Month's Minde	20.	186.
Plaine Percevall	21.	199.
Penry on Reformation	21.	202.
Pasquil's Apology	21.	204.

PAGE
Bishop Aylmer's Harborowe ..... 37.
Bishop Bancroft's Sermon ..... 162.
Anti-Martinus ..... 206.
Mar-Martin ..... 207.
Whip for an Ape ..... 208.

MARTIN MARPRELATE.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction. Danger of excess in popular movements.

THOSE who may be lookers on in the beginning of any popular movement, those who may be actors in it, and those who are the leaders, are all equally ignorant of the end to which it will reach, and the excesses into which it may run. Many will at first be interested in, and well-wishers to the cause, until gradually they will lose their interest from their own objects being already gained, or some mismanagement disgusts them: and those who set on foot great changes in important matters, whether of belief or practice, whether temporal or spiritual, are quickly passed by their eager followers, and these again in their turn by others, until liberty becomes tyranny, and reformation the most abominable of all abuses.

Corruptions existed in the Church in the XVIth Century.

It would be absurd to deny that there were corruptions existing in the Christian Church about the beginning of the sixteenth century: the Western Branch was not yet divided in communion; and, bound up as all her members had ever been, not only in their practice and doctrines and government, but in their sympathies, with thousands and tens of thousands, none acknowledging any checks which the boundaries of earthly kingdoms would put upon their one brotherhood, it is not to be wondered at that errors and corruptions should arise and spread among so great a multitude. There is no promise among the many given to His Church by our Blessed Lord, that she should always be free from such calamity: but rather on the contrary it was foretold, and herself cautioned, that in the midst of all, the Faith might be the more carefully preserved, and the faithful might be known.

So in the English Branch.

It was not possible therefore that the English Church should escape: among the people under her rule, both clerical and lay, there were many matters at that time to be corrected, and new life and energy given, (it was to be hoped) by the mere pursuit itself of the proper and necessary means. But it is far easier to spy out abuses than to administer the right remedies: it is far more suitable

to men's impatience to rush on headlong, cutting away all that they suppose is wrong or useless, than to wait for the sober arm of constituted authority, and follow the cautious steps of matured and deliberate judgment.

These were to be reformed.

The whole Western Church then, felt the necessity of some reformation: it was not only irreverently demanded by turbulent burghers in Germany and Bavaria, and by disappointed priests, but acknowledged equally in the quiet cloisters whether of Abbey or Cathedral, and in the halls of the Vatican. But men would not wait. And the sad consequences followed. Church after Church took each upon itself the task of reformation: human politics were rapidly mixed up with real and pretended religious zeal: there were prizes to be gained in the tumult, rich enough and various enough to excite the worst passions of our fallen nature: and the end of the century saw the scattered fragments of the once glorious Western Church under very different fates. Some portions had perished altogether: in others the people had but dim remnants left by which they might still be distinguished and acknowledged: others had resisted more stoutly, and saved more from the ravages of the storm: and once again, in no small part,

Consequences of too much haste.

(of which both rulers and people had been, as it were, terror-struck at what had passed around them) all attempt at any reformation had been stopped, and whilst perhaps no privilege or means of grace had been lost, it was but by the forced retaining of much that was to be wished away.

Struggle continued in England.

In the Church of England the struggle which was to determine whether any of the marks and tokens of Catholicity were to remain in her, or whether she was to be utterly removed, had not ceased in the year 1590. We might rather say that until that date, after 1552, a crisis had not arrived. The Almighty Ruler had Himself interfered before, and by the early death of the inexperienced Edward, who could be but a tool in the hands of others, had then preserved the Church. Another year or two of his unhappy reign, after the fashion in which religion and religious ordinances were then esteemed and at the same rate of innovation, would have sufficed to effect its ruin.*

* A book which I shall have occasion probably again to refer to, is plain upon this point: viz. "The Troubles at Frankfort." This is reprinted in the *Phœnix*, and is of much more value as a contemporary document upon many important questions, than appears to be commonly supposed. I quote from the original edition of 1575, 4to. It was objected to the extreme party at Frankfort that the not continuing

When the throne again became vacant, and Queen Elizabeth was permitted by the same Great Providence to succeed, the contest was renewed: and the more steadily resistance was continued, the more constant were the efforts and the more repeated were the attacks of those, who were not content that matters should be restored (with very trivial alterations) even to their condition in the last years of King Edward the Sixth.

Martin Marprelate.

I propose now to attempt to give a sketch of the Martin Marprelate Controversy in the year which I have alluded to, viz. 1590. I think that its importance has been very much overlooked, and this by two parties: the Historians of the Church of England, and the readers of their Histories. The latter class, of course, would scarcely direct their especial attention to a period and to a struggle which were not apparently worth much more inquiry, and they would be satisfied with hearing of Martin Marprelate by name, and being told that his tracts

abroad the use of K. Edward's second Common Prayer Book, would be in effect to throw a slur upon the compilers of it, at that very time, 1554, suffering in behalf of the Reformation: as the objectors word it, "least by muche alteringe off the same we shulde seeme to condemne the chieff authors theroff, who as they nowe suffer, so are they most redie to confirme that facte with the price off their bloude,

were violent, and the matter of some importance. I may say, I think, that the historians who do speak of it, allow it to be of great importance: but they do not seem to realize the doubtful state of the Church of England at the time, and the peril in

and shulde also bothe geue occasion to our aduersaries, to accuse oure doctrine of imperfection, and us of mutabilitie." This was a forcible argument, and so also was the reply: "Yff anie thinke that the not vsing off the booke in all pointes shoulde increase (*query* weaken) our godly fathers and bretherns hands, or els anye thinge deface the worthie ordinances and lawes off our Soueraigne K. Edward the 6. he semethe ether litle to waie the mater, or els letted through ignorance knowethe not that euen they themselues haue vpon considerations off circumstances, altered heretofore many thinges as touchinge the same. And iff god had not in theis wicked daies otherwise determined, woulde here after haue chaunged more, yea and in oure case we dowte not but that they woulde haue don the like." Pp. xxi. xxii. We must remember that the book was not an ideal one, which was to have been so substituted for the 1552 Common Prayer of Edward VI. It was the one which the Frankfort exiles persisted in the observance of: it was the *Order of Geneva* which was drawn up by Calvin. Not only unlike any Service or Liturgy which had heretofore been used in the Christian Church, (which was not improbable,) but *so* changed, *so* unlike, that the most solemn offices were almost, if we may so speak, made a jest of; there could not even be a valid administration under its rule of the Holy Communion, for the form which it provided omitted the essentials of consecration.

which the boldness and the wickedness of her enemies had then placed her.

Rarity of his Tracts.

One, perhaps *the* cause of this has been, the no little difficulty of obtaining and therefore of carefully examining the original publications. They are all very scarce, and several of extraordinary rarity. It is not possible always to have access to public libraries; and except there, to expect to find any of them, when wanted, would be almost hopeless: even not one of our public libraries contains the whole series. Hence each would be content under the necessity to follow the guidance of those who had gone before him: and, except that one mistake is sure to be the fruitful parent of others, the accounts which are given us generally in the Ecclesiastical Histories, are in the main repetitions of the same story. "That there was a Martin Marprelate: i. e. a set of men who wrote under that title: that his tracts were violent: that he was answered in the same style: that he was soon suppressed." Strype (whose name none can mention without gratitude and respect) had obtained and examined several of the tracts, which more particularly concerned the Lives of Whitgift and Aylmer. From his stores chiefly those drew who succeeded him. Mr. D'Israeli seems to have read also some

Errors respecting them.

four or five of them, and has written a merely amusing paper on the subject; that he did not take a very accurate view is at once evident, from his classing this controversy as "Literary," such as, for example, between "D'Avenant and a club of wits," between "Pope and Addison," in short, among *the Quarrels of Authors*. We might have looked for the evidence of more research, and therefore for more information on the point in a book which professes to give us the "Elizabethan Religious History." But I cannot think that Mr. Soames could have taken the trouble to examine even one of these tracts, and was therefore quite inadequate to form any judgment at all upon their importance. How far carelessness in one inquiry (and this as it would seem so necessary) might be an argument against the value of the whole volume, I am not prepared to decide. But even if second-hand information was to be sufficient for us in a work with such a title, as "The Elizabethan Religious History," we certainly have a just right to complain that its author should be content to speak of Bishop Cooper's *Admonition to the People of England* as being published *after* the derisive answers by Nash and others, or suppose that Dr. Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, wrote against Martin Marpre-

late, because one of Martin's tracts has the title, "Oh! read over Dr. John Bridges." *

Some account of the old controversy may not be the less called for at the present time, when popular attention is directed once more to some of the points then at issue: when ceremonies and rites of the Church, if not exactly the same, certainly the same in kind, have become subjects in debate: and even her essential doctrines and necessary discipline once more openly called in question, and the policy (as men think it) of enforcing either disputed by her own professed members.

Some lately reprinted,

It is no little sign of the interest which exists upon such questions, that it has proved a profitable speculation to reprint several of the Marprelate tracts: many more also are threatened connected with the Disciplinarian controversy.

but much to be lamented.

If these pamphlets had been allowed to remain in their long-established obscurity, arising from their rarity of occurrence, few would have wished to see them, for few would have even known their existence. But the mere fact of supplying them by "reprints," excites curiosity, and creates a demand.

* Or, this error may be traced to a passage in *Neal*, vol. i. 339, who says (though *he* knew better), "Dr. Bridges answered Martin in a ludicrous style."

There is no doubt that before the supply there was little or no inquiry about them. And if at every time, surely now in our own, the spreading them abroad must be accompanied with very serious evils: must tend to excite doubts about things long ago argued and decided upon, and produce much pain in minds accustomed to regard with reverence subjects which the Elizabethan Puritans spoke of in mockery and scorn and with blasphemous jesting.

I do not hesitate to repeat again, however useless such a protest may be, another most serious objection which lies against a republication of the Elizabethan Puritan tracts. It is this: that by far the greater part of the edition goes to America. That is, as it seems to me, the very country to which these books ought not to go. It is natural that the thousands of its quickly increasing population, with no literature of their own, should eagerly look abroad, from any source, for information. They are not able to judge correctly of the supply which is readily enough poured in; and in fact whilst a wish for information is made a pretext, excitement and to be amused are the real prompters of the demand for books. And so, this country sends them, as a portion of its traffic, the tracts of Martin Marprelate! In the hands of a people who

These sent chiefly to America.

possess not the checks to ill which still exist among ourselves; or the inducements which lead many in England to go on (as we call it) steadily, without knowing why or wherefore: of a people among whom the Catholic Church barely claims to be the City upon a hill, but is oppressed from within and from without: where there is no attempt at discipline, and scarcely certainty even upon the most important doctrines: in their hands, I say, we are gratuitously placing weapons of which they know not the fatal power; which they as yet want not, neither ask for, because they are ignorant of their existence: and we thrust upon them most deadly poison, knowing that they have not the antidote, by which our ancestors were saved in *their* hour of peril.

The titles of the Marprelate Tracts.

I have now before me original copies of the following tracts, all of which enter into what may be strictly called the Martin Marprelate series: to be classed among which it is not enough that a book should condemn a distinction of ecclesiastical habits and discipline, and church government, and rail against priestly orders and Episcopacy; otherwise we might, as some have supposed, include in it the *Admonition to the Parliament*, or the *Parte of a Register*, or the *Demonstration of Discipline*. I

would not even include Dr. Bridges' *Defence of the Government established*, but would limit the beginning, though uncertain perhaps of the end of it, with the *Epistle* of Martin Marprelate. It seems necessary first to give the full titles of these tracts and their collation, which will enable me to refer to them afterwards by their shorter titles.

The Epistle. 1. 'Oh read ouer D. John Bridges, for it is a 'worthy worke: or an Epitome of the fyrste Booke, 'of that right worshipfull volume, written against 'the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, 'by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, Pres-'byter, Priest or elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and 'Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the 'puritans are wisely prevented, that when they 'come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes 'say something that hath bene spoken. Compiled 'for the behoofe and ¦overthrow of the Parsons, 'Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt their Cate-'chismes, and are past grace: By the reverend and 'worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman, and dedi-'cated to the Confocation house. The Epitome is 'not yet published, but it shall be when the Bishops 'are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In 'the meane time, let them be content with this 'learned Epistle. Printed oversea, in Europe,

'within two furlongs of a Bounsing Priest, at the 'cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman.' This tract collates A to G, in fours, 4to, pp. 54. Entirely in black letter.

2. 'Oh read ouer D. John Bridges, for it is 'worthy worke: Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke, 'of that right worshippfull volume, written against 'the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, 'by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, Pres- 'byter, Priest or elder, doctor of Diuillitie, and 'Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the 'Puritans are wisely prevented, that when they 'come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes 'say some thing that hath bene spoken. Compiled 'for the behoofe and overthrow of the vnpreaching 'Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that haue lernt 'their Catechismes, and are past grace: By the 'reverend and worthie Martin Marprelat gentle- 'man, and dedicated by a second Epistle to the 'Terrible Priests. In this Epitome, the foresaide 'Fickers, &c. are very insufficiently furnished, with 'notable inabilitie of most vincible reasons, to an- 'swere the cauill of the puritanes. And lest M. 'Doctor should thinke that no man can write with- 'out sence but his selfe, the senceles titles of the 'seueral pages, and the handling of the matter The Epitome.

'throughout the Epitome, shewe plainly, that bee-
'tleheaded ignoraunce, must not liue and die with
'him alone. Printed on the other hand of some
'of the Priests.' Collates G 2 in fours, (the last leaf blank) 4to, and has no pagination. Also in black letter.

Bishop Cooper's Admonition.

3. 'An admonition to the People of England:
'wherein are answered, not onely the slaunderous
'vntrouthes, reprochfully vttered by Martin the
'Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of
'his broode, obiected generally against all Bishops,
'and the Chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to de-
'face and discredite the present state of the Church.
'—Detractor & libens auditor, vterque Diabolum
'portat in lingua.—Seene and allowed by autho-
'ritie.—Imprinted at London by the Deputies of
'Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most
'excellent Maiestie. 1589.' 4to. K k iij. in fours. Pp. 245. In Roman letter.

Hay any worke for Cooper.

4. 'Hay any worke for Cooper: or a briefe Pistle
'directed by Waye of an hublication to the reve-
'rende Byshopps, counselling them, if they will
'needs be barrelled vp, for feare of smelling in the
'nostrels of her Maiestie and the State, that they
'would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin, for the
'prouiding of their Cooper. Because the Reue-

'rend T. C., (by which misticall letters is vnder-
'stood eyther the bounsing Parson of Eastmeane,
'or Tom Coakes his Chaplaine,) to bee an vnskil-
'full and a beceytfull tubtrimmer.—Wherein worthy
'Martin quits himselfe like a man I warrant you,
'in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned
'Pistles, and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye off,
'and the Bishops Tubs to leake out of all crye.
'Penned and compiled by Martin the Metropoli-
'tane. Printed in Europe, not farre from some of
'the Bounsing Priestes.' 4to. H i, in fours. Pp.
48. Black Letter.

Penry's Appellation.

5. 'Th' Appellation of John Penri, vnto the 'Highe court of Parliament, from the bad and in-'jurious dealing of th' Archb. of Canterb. & other 'his colleagues of the high commission: Wherin 'the complainant, humbly submitting himselfe and 'his cause vnto the determination of this honorable 'assembly: craueth nothing els, but either release 'from trouble and persecution, or just tryall.'—'(Then follow two quotations; the one from 'Psalm xxxv. 19, 20, &c.;' the other, 'Jerem. xx. 21.')—'Anno Dom. 1589.' 12mo. G 3, in fours. Pp. 52. Small Roman letter.

Dialogue of tyrannical dealing.

6. 'A Dialogue. Wherein is plainly laide open, 'the tyrannicall dealing of L. Bishopps against

'Gods children: with certaine points of doctrine, 'wherein they approoue themselues (according to 'D. Bridges his judgement) to be truely the Bishops 'of the Diuell. Mallach ii. 7, 8, 9: "The Priests 'lippes—partiall in the lawe."' 12mo. D, in fours; no pagination. Small Roman letter.

M. Some laid open in his coulers.

7. 'M. Some laid open in his coulers: wherein 'the indifferent Reader may easily see, howe wretch-'edly and loosely he hath handeled the cause against 'M. Penri. Done by an Oxford man, to his friend in 'Cambridge. Prov. xxx. 32: "If thou hast bene 'foolishe in lifting vp thy selfe, and hast thought 'maliciously, laye now thy hande vpon thy mouth. 'For proud, haughty, and scornefull is his name, 'that worketh wrath in his arrogancie." Prov. xxi. '24.' 12mo. Q, in fours. Pp. 124: in small Roman letter.

The Protestation.

8. 'The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat 'wherein notwithstanding the surprizing of the 'printer, he maketh it known vnto the world that 'he feareth, neither proud priest, Antichristian 'pope, tiranous prellate, nor godlesse catercap: but 'defiethe all the race of them by these presents 'and offereth conditionally, as is farthere expressed 'hearein by open disputation to apear in the de-'fence of his cause against them and theirs—

'Which chaleng if they dare not maintaine aginst 'him: then doth he alsoe publishe that he never 'meaneth, by the assitance of god to leaue the 'assayling of them and theire generation vntill 'they be vterly extinguised out of our church. 'Published by the worthie gentleman D. martin 'marprelat, D. in all the faculties primat and me-'tropolitan.' 12mo. D, in fours. Pp. 32; Roman letter.

9. 'Theses Martinianae: That is, Certaine de- The Theses.
'monstrative Conclusions, sette downe and collected '(as it should seeme) by that famous and renowmed 'Clarke, the reuerend Martin Marprelate the great: 'seruing as a manifest and sufficient confutation of 'al that euer the Colledge of Catercaps with their 'whole band of Clergie-priests, haue, or canbring 'for the defence of their ambitious and Antichris-'tian Prelacie. Pvblished and set foorth as an 'after-birth of the noble Gentleman himselfe, by 'a prety stripling of his, Martin Ivnior, and dedi-'cated by him to his good neame and nuncka, Mais-'ter Iohn Kankerbury. How the yongman came 'by them, the Reader shall vnderstande sufficiently 'in the Epilogue. In the meane time, whosoeuer 'can bring mee acquainted with my father, Ile bee 'bounde he shall not loose his labour.—Printed by

'the assignes of Martin Iunior, without any priui-
'ledge of the Catercaps.' 12mo. D, in fours. No
'pagination. Small Roman letter.

The Just Censure.

10. 'The iust censure and reproofe of Martin
'Iunior.—Wherein the rash and vndiscreete headi-
'nes of the foolish youth is sharply mette with, and
'the boy hath his lesson taught him, I warrant you,
'by his reuerend and elder brother, Martin Senior,
'sonne and heire vnto the renowmed Martin Mar-
'prelate he Great. Where also, least the springall
'shold be vtterly discouraged in his good meaning,
'you shall finde, that hee is not beraued of his due
'commendations.' 12mo. D, in fours. No pagi-
'nation. In small Roman letter.

Pappe with an hatchet.

11. 'Pappe with an hatchet; Alias, A figge for
'my God sonne; or, Cracke me this nut; or, A
'Countrie cuffe, that is, a sound boxe of the eare,
'for the idiot Martin to hold his peace, seeing the
'patch will take no warning.—Written by one that
'dares call a dog, a dog, and made to preuent Mar-
'tin's dog-daies.—Imprinted by Iohn Anoke, and
'Iohn Astile, for the Bayliue of Withernam, cum
'priuilegio perennitatis, and are to bee sold at the
'signe of the crab-tree cudgell, in thwackcoate
'lane.—A sentence.—Martin hangs fit for my
'mowing.' 4to. E iij. in fours. No pagination.
Roman letter.

12. 'A Countercuffe giuen to Martin Iunior: 'by the venturous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill 'of Englande, Caualiero.—Not of olde Martins 'making, which newlie knighted the Saints in 'Heauen, with rise vppe Sir Peter and Sir Paule; 'but latelie dubd for his seruice at home in the de- 'fence of his Country, and for the cleane breaking 'of his staffe vpon Martin's face.—Printed between 'the skye and the grounde, wythin a myle of an 'Oake, and not manie Fieldes off, from the vnpriui- 'ledged Presse of the Ass—ignes of Martin Iunior. 'Anno Dom. 1589.' 4to. Single sheet. Roman letter. The Counter-cuffe.

13. 'An Almond for a Parrat, or, Cutbert 'Curry-knaues Almes. Fit for the knaue Martin, 'and the rest of those impudent Beggers, that can 'not be content to stay their stomakes with a Bene- 'fice, but they will needes breake their fastes with 'our Bishops. Rimarum sum plenus. Therefore 'beware (gentle Reader) you catch not the hicket 'with laughing. Imprinted at a Place, not farre 'from a Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some- 'body, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble- 'knaue-street, at the signe of the Standish.' 4to. F 3, in fours. Pp. 20. Black letter. Almond for a Parrat.

14. 'The Returne of the renowned Caualiero Return of Pasquil.

'Pasquill of England, from the other side the Seas, 'and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon 'the Royall Exchange. Where they encounter 'with a little houshold talke of Martin and Mar-'tinisme, discouering the scabbe that is bredde in 'England; and conferring together about the 'speedie dispersing of the golden Legende of the 'liues of the Saints. If my breath be so hote that 'I burne my mouth, suppose I was Printed by 'Pepper Allie. Anno Dom. 1589.' 4to. D, in fours. Roman letter.

The Months Mind.

15. 'Martins months minde, that is, A cer-'taine report and true description of the Death and 'Funeralls, of olde Martin Marre-prelate, the great 'makebate of England, and father of the Factious. 'Contayning the cause of his death, the manner of 'his buriall, and the right copies both of his Will, 'and of such Epitaphs, as by sundrie his dearest 'friends, and other of his well willers, were framed 'for him.

'Martin the Ape, the dronke, and the madde,
'The three Martins are, whose workes we haue had.
'If Martin the fourth come, after Martins so euill,
'Nor man, nor beast comes, but Martin the deuill.
1589.'

4to. H, in fours. Roman letter.

16. ‘ Plaine Percevall the Peace-Maker of Eng- Plain Percevall.
‘ land. Sweetly indevoring with his blunt persua-
‘ sions to botch vp a Reconciliation between Mar-
‘ ton and Mar-tother. Compiled by lawfull art,
‘ that is to say, without witchcraft, or sorcery; and
‘ referred specially to the Meridian and pole Arti-
‘ chocke of Nomans Land; but may serue generally,
‘ without any great error, for more Countries then
‘ Ile speake of. Quis furor aut hos, Aut hos, arma
‘ sequi, ferrúmque lacessere iussit. Printed in
‘ Broad-streete, at the signe of the Pack-staffe.’
4to. E 2, in fours. Pp. 26. Black letter.

17. ‘ A treatise wherein is manifestlie proved, Penry on Reformation.
‘ that reformation and those that sincerely fauor the
‘ same, are vnjustly charged to be enemies, vnto
‘ hir Maiestie, and the state. Written both for the
‘ clearing of those that stande in that cause; and
‘ the stopping of the sclaunderous mouthes of all the
‘ enemies thereof. Zephaniah iii. 18, 19. “ After
‘ a certaine time will I gather the afflicted, —— saith
‘ the Lord.” 1590. 4to. I. 2, in fours. Roman
letter.

18. ‘ The First parte of Pasquils Apologie. First part of Pasquil’s Apology.
‘ Wherin he renders a reason to his friendes of his
‘ long silence: and gallops the fielde with the Trea-
‘ tise of Reformation lately written by a fugitiue,

'Iohn Penrie. Printed where I was, and where I 'will bee readie by the helpe of God and my Muse, 'to send you the Maygame of Martinisme for an 'intermedium, betweene the first and seconde part 'of the Apologie. Anno Dom. 1590. 4to. E. l. in fours. Roman letter.*

Of the above, there are in the Bodleian Library, Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 9 to 17 inclusive; and in the Museum Library, Nos. 1, 4, 11, 15, 16.

* When the Article in the Christian Remembrancer on Martin Marprelate was written, I had not been able to procure a copy of this *First parte of Pasquil's Apologie*, nor, as I there stated, had I ever seen it. Since that time, I have obtained it, bound with some seven or eight others relating to the same subject in a volume which formerly belonged to Archbishop Sancroft, who has written in it a list of the contents. I have now no hesitation in adding it and the tract to which it especially refers, to the above list, as undoubtedly belonging to the series. An additional argument for including Penry's Treatise would be, that Neal has given it in his own imperfect list. It is not impossible that he had means of information on the point which we are not aware of, and known only to a favoured few. He frequently refers to MSS. in his possession.

CHAPTER II.

I WOULD take then, as I have said, 'The Epistle' to be the first of the Marprelate tracts; but by this I do not mean that Martin Marprelate sprung up before the astonished counsellors and high commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, opening any new controversy, or even directing his attack upon hitherto untouched places of his enemy's camp. Men also had been accustomed to bitter language and misrepresentation, of which a huge folio (for many years a favourite however) was a ponderous specimen, viz. 'Fox's Acts and Monuments;' and direct personal allusions had not been spared, and motives, however base and unworthy, already imputed to those who were, or had been in authority. But this had occurred in books written apparently in sober earnestness; even John Fox might possibly have believed that a great part of what he said was fact, and might all have been no more than what every one would naturally look for, in the pro-

Martin Marprelate unlike his predecessors.

His attacks were upon a new system.

ductions of such men, in times of so fierce religious animosity and unsettled faith. Martin Marprelate was a new assailant in an old struggle, armed with new weapons; no one, indeed, according to his own admission, yet knew their efficacy, but he came to prove them; these were to be jesting, and ribaldry, and plain lying; as the Author of '*Pappe with a Hatchet*' says 'to the indifferent reader,' 'They 'have scattered divers libels, all so taunting and 'slanderous, as it is hard to iudge, whether their 'lyes exceed their bitternesse, or their bitternesse 'their fables.' They argued, as one of their most famous men, Mr. Field, had already acknowledged to the Archbishop's Chaplain, "The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament use such vehemency; we have used gentle words too long, which have done no good; the wound grows desperate, and wants a corrosive: it is no time to blanch or sew pillars under mens elbows."* Such, then, it seemed, were now to be the means—means worthy of the cause—by which the Church of England, her orders, her worship, and her rulers, were to be overthrown, and the entrance so long looked for at last gained for the 'holy discipline,' the platform of Geneva, the outwardly sanctimonious and meek and un-

* *Neal*, vol. i. 191.

assuming, the really insolent and prying and tyrannical politico-presbyterian model.

Many Puritan tracts had lately been published.

There had been, from about the year 1570, an almost unceasing flow of Puritan tracts from the press, such for example as the '*Abstract of Acts and Canons, &c.,*' the '*Counterpoyson,*' the '*Dialogue concerning the Strife of our Churche,*' '*The Demonstration of Discipline*' (by Udall), and many others, upwards of *forty* of which may be found collected together in a volume published by Waldegrave, the chief Puritan printer, with the curious title, 'A parte of a Register, contayninge 'sundrie memorable matters, written by divers godly 'and learned in our time, which stande for, and 'desire the reformation of our Church, in Disci-'pline and Ceremonies, accordinge to the pure 'worde of God, and the Lawe of our Lande.'*

* The *Parte of a Register* is a most interesting volume, containing as it does, republications of so many Puritan tracts, collected at the time, some of the originals of which no longer exist, and perhaps some also were printed from manuscripts. I am not aware that the Table of Contents is to be found in any history or bibliography, and think it well worth extracting, as sufficient to give the reader a just idea of the value of the book.

Contents of the *Parte of a Register.*

A comfortable epistle by Mai. D. W. Doctor of Diuinitie. fol. 1.

4to. Pp. 547. Dr. John Bridges (elected in 1603 Bishop of Oxford), then Dean of Sarum, in 1587,

A godly and zealous letter written by Mai. Antony Gilby, about anno 1570. fol. 12.

A letter written by Mai. D. Pilkenton, about anno 1570. fol. 19.

An examination of certayne Londonners before the Commissioners, about anno 1567. fol. 23.

Certayne questions answered, touching the defence of popishe ceremonies, anno 1570. fol. 37.

A viewe of Antichrist his lawes and ceremonies in our Church vnreformed. fol. 55.

Articles answered by Mai. Edm. Dering, anno 1573. fol. 73.

Mai. Greneham, Minister of Drayton, his answere to the Bish. of Eley. fol. 86.

The Bishops proceedings against Maist. Robart Johnson Preacher, who dyed in the gate, 1573. fol. 94.

The exceptions of Mai. Nicolas Crane, Preacher: against subscription, who died in Newgate, anno 1588. fol. 119.

A letter sent from the Ministers of Scotlande, to the Bishops of Englande, anno 1566. fol. 125.

A complaint presented to the Right Hon. the Lords of her Ma. priuie Counsell by the godly Min. fol. 128.

The answere to the complaint against the ill disposed whatsoever. fol. 131.

A letter written to a Londoner, contayning an answere to the Arch. articles at large. an. 1583. fol. 132.

A briefe answere to the principall pointes of the same articles, written an. 1583. fol. 201.

Certayne reasons against subscription to the booke of common prayer.

The complaint of the communaltie of Eng. 1586. fol. 201.

wrote a large 4to of 1401 pages, in which he answered the objections contained in these publica-

The vnlawfull practise of Prelates against the godly Ministers. fol. 280.
The humble petition of the communaltie to her gracious Maiestie. fol. 304.
A petition to the conuocation house, anno 1583. fol. 323.
The state of the Church of England laide open in a conference. fol, 333.
A pythie letter to the Bish. of Nor. 1576. by R. T. fol. 365.
A friendlie caueat to the Bishops, anno 1567. fol. 371.
The conference betweene some of the High Comissioners, and Mai. Marbury, anno 1578. fol. 381.
The defence of the godly Ministers against D. Bridges slaunders, by Ma. Dudley Fenner. fol. 387.
The troubles of Ma. Gawton Preacher in Norw. fol. 393.
The iudgement of certayne godly brethren uppon a question propounded. fol. 401.
Certayne reasons against the crosse in baptisme. fol. 409.
Reasons against kneeling at Communion. fol. 410.
The Counterpoyson. fol. 412.
The certayne forme of Ecclesiastical gouernement, prescribed by the worde of God, and perpetuall. fol 421.
Election with consent of the people. fol. 428.
Euery Minister ought to preach. fol. 442.
Ministers falling to Idolatrie, ought not to bee receyued to the Ministerie. fol. 455.
The authoritie of the Ministers. fol. 461.
The office of the Doctor is ordinarie, perpetuall, and distinct from the Pastor. fol. 470.
Of Elders and the Eldership. fol. 474.
A reply to the variable collections, against Disci. fol. 480.

tions, and established (to his own satisfaction I mean) the excellence of the government of the reformed Church of England. The title of his book is (though long, it seems necessary to give it entire),

Dr. Bridges 'Defence.'

'A Defence of the Government established in the 'Churche of England for ecclesiastical matters. 'Contayning an aunswere unto a Treatise called, 'The Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Govern-'ment, otherwise intituled, A briefe and plaine de-'claration concerning the desires of all the faithful 'ministers that have, and do seeke for the discipline 'and reformation of the Church of Englande. 'Comprehending likewise an aunswere to the argu-

That part of D. Copquot his sermon which concerned Discipline. fol. 507.
The defence of the reasons of the Counterpoyson. fol. 509.
A confession of the faith. fol. 528.
A prayer for the faithfull. fol. 547.

Of the above tracts there are two not in the book, viz. *the brief answere fol.* 201, and *Certayne reasons against subscription.* The reader will observe that the former of these, and *the complaint of the communaltie*, are both referred to *fol.* 201, and that the latter (viz. *against subscription*) has no foliation at all. Both tracts are added however at the end of the copy now before me, after the "Finis." These again are succeeded by a reprint of Udall's *Demonstration of Discipline*: the original edition of which is a 12mo. and has a small folding sheet, "A table of Discipline."

'ments in a treatise named the iudgement of a 'most reverend and learned man from beyond the 'seas, &c. Aunswering also to the argumentes of 'Calvine, Beza, and Danæus, with other our reve-'rend learned brethren, besides Cœnalis and Bodi-'nus, both for the regiment of women, and in de-'fence of her Maiestie, and of all other Christian 'Princes supreme gouernment in ecclesiastical 'causes, against the Tetrarchie that our brethren 'would erect in euery particular congregation, of 'doctors, pastors, gouernors, and deacons, with 'their seuerall and ioynt authoritie in elections, 'excommunications, synodall constitutions and 'other ecclesiasticall matters. Aunswered by John 'Bridges, Deane of Sarum.

'Come and see. Take it up and read.
'Joh. i. 36. Aug. lib. conf. viii. ca. 12.

'at London. Printed for John Windet,* for 'Thomas Chard, 1587.'

It was against this book in particular that Martin Marprelate professed to direct his *Epistle* and *Epitome;* in the first page of the Epitome, he gives

Answered by Martin.

* This John Windet, 'dwelling at the signe of the Crosse Keyes neere Powles Wharffe,' was the printer, and probably the publisher, of the first edition of the four books, and of the fifth book of the Ecclesiastical Polity.

a true enough account of it (in a bibliographical 'way): 'The whole volume of M. Deanes, containeth 'in it, 16 bookes, besides a large preface, and an 'epistle to the reader. The epistle and the preface 'are not aboue 8. sheets of paper, and very little 'vnder 7. You may see when men haue a gift in 'writing, howe easie it is for them to daube paper. 'The compleat worke (very briefely comprehended 'in a portable booke, if your horse be not too 'weake, of an hundred threescore and twelue sheets, 'of good Demie paper) is a confutation,' &c.

The Archbishop and others attacked.

But, by far, the greater part of these two tracts is employed in abusing Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Aylmer, Bishop of London. 'Oh! read over D. John Bridges, for it is a wor-'thy worke,' is the head-line of the titles of both of them; but in the first page of the *Epistle*, after mentioning that 'seen and allowed by the Arch-'bishop,' is not to be found in the Dean's Defence, Martin passes on to claim the victory for Cartwright, in his old controversy with Whitgift, about the '*Admonition to the Parliament*;' because his two last books, viz., his '*Second Replie*,' and '*the rest of the Second Replie*,' had not been answered. This was a boast of victory, which the authors of the tracts against Martin Marprelate quickly and

frequently refused to acknowledge: for example, in one of them, 'Ile ribroste* my brother Martin a 'litle, for obiecting to my Lord Archbishop, the 'not answering of his bookes. Therefore, first, 'would I know of sweete M. sauce malapert, whether 'he would have the care of the commonwealth, 'and forseing consultation of domestical and for-'reine affairs, resigned to the retorting of T. C., his 'vnreuerent railings. Next, what such equall pro-'portion his mastership finds in their places, that 'the grauity and mildnes of the one, should stoupe 'his attention so low, as the iangling leuity of the 'other.—As there is nothing more vnseemely, then 'to aunswere the froward, so there is nothing more 'profitable then scilence to such as are prouokt.'—*Almond for a Parrat, sign. D. 2. Rev.* To go back, however, to the *Epistle.* Immediately after this claiming of the victory for Cartwright, Martin proceeds to attack Aylmer, and the Bishops of

* To Ribroast: to beat soundly. A burlesque word. *Johnson*, who quotes *Butler* and *L'Estrange*. We find the word in "the Life of Long Meg of Westminster," reprinted in *Miscell. Antiqua Anglicana*, p. 17. "What man, quoth shee, art afraid? giue mee thy staffe; for by the grace of God I will goe see who it is: and if they be any false knaues, 'tis Shroue-tuesday at night, and I will give them ribroast for a farewell to flesh."

Winchester, Exeter, and Rochester. Presently he returns to Dr. Bridges' book again, not without constant digressions, until, at last, after a few pages, he fairly gives the matter up, plainly confesses that he is weary of him, and says, 'I care not an I now 'leave masse Deane's worship and be eloquent 'once in my dayes:' 'well, nowe, to mine eloquence;' and this eloquence is displayed to the end of the book, in telling scurrilous stories about Bishops Aylmer, and Cooper of Winchester, and the Archbishop. The same account, in as many words, is equally applicable to the second tract, the *Epitome*.

Dr. Bridges accused of bribery.

The author of the *Epistle* accuses Dr. Bridges of having obtained his dignity by bribery. 'Brother 'Bridges, a worde or two more with you, ere we 'depart, I praye you where may a man buie such 'another gelding, and borow such another hun-'dred poundes, as you bestowed upon your good 'patron Sir Edward Horsey, for his good worde 'in helping you to your Deanry: go to, go to, I 'perceiue you will prooue a goose. Deale closeliar 'for shame the next time: must I needs come to 'the knoledge of these things? what if I should 'report abroad, that cleargie men come vnto their 'promotions by Simonie? haue not you giuen me 'iuste cause? I thinke Simonie be the bishops

'lacky. Tarleton tooke him not long since in Don 'John of London's cellor.' *Epistle*, p. 19.* And in the *Epitome* an accusation more likely even to excite the Dean's wrath as an author, is made against him, namely, that he had plagiarised. It might have been of little consequence that Martin should say, 'In this one thing I dare preferre him before 'any that euer wrote: to wit, that there be not 3. 'whole periods for euery page in the book, that is 'not graced with a verie faire and visible solacism.' This might be matter of opinion, upon which people might reasonably differ: but the other charge was one of fact; 'He hath vsed such varietie of lerning, 'that very often he hath translated out of one mans 'writing, 6. or 7. pages together, note here a newe 'founde manner of bookemaking.' *Epitome*, Sign. B. 1.

And of plagiarism.

It may be well here, though the quotation will be

* Allusion to this celebrated actor and buffoon is frequent in the old dramatists. He died Sept. 1588. In "A Whip for an Ape, or Martin displaied," 1589, he is thus noticed,—

"Now Tarleton's dead the Consort lacks a vice,
For knaue & fool thou must bear pricke and price:"

and again, in some Rhymes against Martin,—

"These tinkers terms and barbers jests first Tarleton on the stage,
Then Martin in his bookes of lies, hath put in every page."

Note to Mr. Petheram's Reprinted *Epistle*.

somewhat lengthy, to give the question in dispute in Martin Marprelate's own words. There is no necessity to make any remarks upon it, or point out the false method of stating it, which will be at once obvious to every one who is at all conversant with the subject. My object is not to clear the argument of the Church-writers, but to show what the Puritan would pretend to twist it into. 'The

Martin's statement of the Question.

'state of the whole controuersie betweene my 'brethren bishops, and my brethren the puritans, 'and so betweene this worthie doctor, and these 'discourses, is: whether the externall gouernement 'of the Church of Christ, be a thing so prescribed 'by the Lorde in the New testament, as it is not 'lawfull for any man to alter the same, any more 'than it was lawfull to alter y^e^ form of regiment 'prescribed vnder the law in the old testamēt. 'And see whether if there be any gouernment in y^e^ 'Church (as necessarily there must be, or els all 'confusion will ensue) the same must be by those 'offices and officers alone, and by no other, which 'the Lord hath set downe and limited in his word. 'Or els whether man may alter these offices and 'officers at his will and pleasure, and make newe 'offices and officers, as he may in the ciuill gouern-'ments. The puritanes saye, that these offices

'and officers, whiche our sauior Christe and his 'Apostles did ordaine, are vnchangeable, and that 'it is not lawfull for any prince to alter them, no 'not though the circumstances of times, places and 'persons, should seeme in regard of conuenience, to 'enforce him thereunto. The doctor with all the 'Lordly priests in the land, hold the contrarie. 'And sweare it to be lawfull for the magistrate to 'ordaine what gouernement he will in the Church: 'yea, that the Church gouernors, contrary to the 'flat commandement of our sauior Christe, Luke '22. 25. 26. may be Lordes. And that the Church 'gouernment prescribed by our Sauiour Christe, 'and enioyned by the Apostle, was not immutable, 'as the regiment vnder the law was. In so much 'as in the opinion of M. Bridges and the rest of 'the cleargie, Paul was deceiued, Ephesians the 4. '13. in saying that pastors and doctors were to 'cōtinue in the Church vntil we al meet together: 'that is vnto the ende of the worlde. Here then is 'the puritans I,* for the permanencie of this gouern-'ment, and M. doctors no.' *Epitome*, Sign. B. 2.

Bishop Aylmer.

John Elmar, Ailmer, or Aylmer, (his name is spelt indifferently in books of his own time),† then

* i. e. aye.

† Strype also adds *Elmer* and *Ælmer* as further variations,

Bishop of London, comes in for, even more than Whitgift, Martin's abuse, at least, in the early tracts: most probably as having been an active member of the High Commission Court. In the year 1554, he was Archdeacon of Stowe, and one of the six who, in the Convocation of that year, refused to subscribe certain propositions offered by the prolocutor, Weston, Dean of Westminster, and engaged, afterwards, in the disputation which was allowed to be held upon them. A full account of this disputation was printed the same year, at Basil, (a most rare volume,) entitled, 'The trew report 'of the dysputacyon had and begonne in the con- 'uocacyon hows at London among the clargye there 'assembled the xviij. daye of October, in the yeare 'of our lord M.D.LIIII.' There is no name attached, but it purports in the beginning to have been done by one 'that was present thereat,' and John Philpot, at that time Archdeacon of Winchester, afterwards burnt in Smithfield *causa religionis*, acknowledged, upon his examination, in 1555, that he had been the author of it. Philpot reports largely

and says that the name is of Saxon origin, contracted from *Adelmar* or *Ethelmar*. (Life of Aylmer, p. 1.) The very accurate *Le Neve*, in his *Fasti. Eccl. Anglic.* gives us "Aylmer" as the orthography.

enough his own share, and I need scarcely say that the whole is to be received with very considerable caution, coming, as it does, from a violent partisan who, according to his own admission, would not conform to the usual orders and decency of the house; but studied to provoke those who were in authority over him, by refusing to appear in 'the long gown and typpet,' which all the others wore; saying, 'I had rather be absent alltogether.'

In this disputation, Archdeacon Elmar (as he is there called) took some part, and seems to have said what he did say, learnedly and with moderation. He was shortly afterwards deprived, and fled to the Continent. In 1559 he wrote and published a work against John Knox's '*First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstruous Regiment of Women.*' This was called '*An Harborowe for faithfvll and trewe Svbiectes, agaynst the late blowne Blaste, concerninge the Gouernment of Wemen; wherin he confuted all such reasons as a straunger of late hath made in that behalfe, with a briefe exhortation to Obedience. Anno* M.D.lix. *At Strasborowe the* 26. *of Aprill.*' (4to.) Aylmer had now been, for some time, among the refugees, and foreign protestants; and, whatever his opinions might have been before his

His book against Knox.

absence, it is quite clear that in 1559 they were not according to what he must have believed as Bishop of London, in 1589. It is ill printing sometimes, and the Bishop would gladly have forgotten his early contest with Knox: not, indeed, the intention and object with which he wrote against him, (for people were much moved by the Scotchman's abominable arguments, and Elizabeth wanted a defender, and himself a bishopric,*) but the reasoning which he had used, and the admissions which he had made. Martin Marprelate, however, had unluckily too good a memory: 'Quoth honest John Elmar in his Harboro,' is a favourite reference with him, and not unfairly, we must own. For example, take his very first appeal to *John of London:* 'I hope one day her Maiestie will either see

Quoted against himself.

* Strype is obliged to own that the strong expressions which Aylmer had used in *the Harborowe* operated more unfavourably against him in the opinion of the Queen's advisers, than the general argument of his book favourably in his behalf. And that therefore he was for some years kept back from preferment. *Life of Aylmer*, p. 24. I was not able to refer to Strype's *Life* while writing the article for *The Remembrancer*, and had not read it. But I have seen no reason since, from what he says, for altering any expression in the text, not merely in this instance, but in other passages: and the impression which the reader will have after reading that *Life*, I am quite sure will be very far

'that the L. Bb. prooue their calling lawfull by the 'word, or as Iohn of London prophesied saying, 'Come downe you bishopps from your thousands, 'and content you with your hundreds, let your diet 'be pristlike and not princelik, &c. quoth John 'Elmar in Harborow of faithful subiects. But I 'pray you B. John dissolue this one question to 'your brother Martin: if this prophesie of yours 'come to passe in your dayes, who shall be B. of 'London?'—*Epistle*, p. 3. Compare *Harborowe*, *sign. O.* 4.

There can be no doubt, let it be excused and disguised as much as it may, that the leading men among the reformers of the sixteenth century were wonderfully pliable.* The circumstances in which they were placed may be allowed to have been

from a satisfactory one, as regards the subject of it. Strype gives some account of the *Harborowe*, and struggles hard to excuse the author of it: but it is a lame defence which rests upon the acknowledged learning and ability of Aylmer, as a cloak for his excesses. I would add that in 1572, a learned writer in a letter to Whitgift, plainly charges that 'Mr. Elmer's unseasonable paradox, though true, hath hurt the Church, and yet not advanced his preferment so much as he hoped.' Life of Whitgift, p. 29.

* Martin puts it in this light: 'how many Bb are there in England, which haue not either said masse, or helped the priest to say masse or bene present at it?' *Epistle*, p. 16.

various enough, and yet we are utterly at a loss many times to offer any reasons which might honestly have induced them to act as we know they did act: sometimes advocating one doctrine, at others another; *now* exclaiming against certain practices and customs as unchristian and to be detested (to use mild phrases); *now*, clean contrary, finding out all at once, that they might not only lawfully be submitted to, but rigorously enforced: *now*, for years it may be, whilst hope of gain remained from plundering some hospital, or college, or endowed cathedral, professing hatred of Catholic truth, and pushing to their furthest limits the wild theories of Luther, and Bucer, and Calvin: *now*, when about to lay down their heads upon the block, and whilst being disrobed upon the fatal scaffold, a time when men usually are driven to speak the truth, declaring that they died in the true faith of the Church of Rome, and confessing, and joining in the solemn offices which are Proper for those 'who are appointed to die.'

The question of the Vestments.

Having already slightly alluded to it, let us take more particularly, yet very briefly, the question of *the Vestments*. Bishop Hooper's case is the best known, from his after-sufferings, and readers of the common books called Ecclesiastical Histories of

England, or Histories of the Reformation, from the prominence which has been given to it, naturally suppose that he was a rare exception; and as regards him, the sternness with which he met his dreadful death, almost makes us forget his conduct when he accepted his Bishopric, productive as it was of most unhappy consequences. But the exiles during Queen Mary's time thought as he did:* whilst they were at Strasburg, or Zurich, or Frankfort,

* That is, the exiles and Hooper said equally hard words about the habits. Because it appears to be somewhat doubtful whether the objections of the latter did not lie against the surplice more particularly, because it was rather an *Aaronical* than a *Popish* garment. Neal, vol. i. p. 46, tells us that he declined his offered bishopric 'for two reasons. 1. Because of the form of the oath, which he called 'foul and impious. 2. By reason of the *Aaronical* habits.' But he soon found other arguments against them, not more forcible, but more likely at the time to be listened to. Such as that (we quote again from Neal) 'They were the inventions of Antichrist, and were introduced into the Church,' not by Moses and Aaron, but 'in the corruptest ages of 'Christianity. That they had been abused to superstition 'and idolatry, and to use them was to symbolize with Antichrist, &c.' Here the exiles fully agreed with him. Neal seems, throughout his history, to hang upon the notion that the original objection to the habits was, that they were Aaronical. Compare for example, p. 94, vol. i. where he speaks incidentally of them with that epithet. Again, he says, p. 128, that Archbishop Parker 'gloried in having been

The Vestments objected to as Aaronical.

or Geneva, they could exclaim nearly as loudly as even their hosts could, against the sacerdotal robes, and holy apparel which for ages had been used in their own Church of England. Pilkington of Durham spoke softly when he merely ranked the use of them among 'unprofitable ceremonies;' Jewel did not hesitate to say that they were 'the relics of the Amorites;' the English ministers at Frankfort called them, 'those proud things that fools marvel at.' But when the times changed, and sees were offered them, then their objections became less violent: they could listen to the disgraceful advice of Peter Martyr, that '*they should consent to wear the vestments, but speak and preach against them:*' and even wondered that men who had been taught by them, who were their disciples brought up at their own feet, should not also forget their arguments and abuse, and see that the habits and kneeling were simply 'things indifferent,' and to dispute about them, 'raising great troubles in trifles.'

Change of opinion respecting them among the exiles.

consecrated without the *Aaronical* garments;' and (to name no more authorities) the suspended ministers in the city of London, 1566, make the first objection to the habits to be, 'That neither the Prophets, nor the Apostles, were distinguished by their garments; that the linen garment was 'peculiar to the priesthood of Aaron, and had a signification 'of something to be fulfilled in Christ and his Church.' p. 151.

They were growing old also, and we may suppose wiser; they had had enough of trouble, and had gained their end: they now desired to rest, and to live quietly, and that the laws should be observed: and who were their disturbers? who were their opponents? I repeat what I have just observed above, *their own disciples.*

Martin Marprelate followed the teaching of Tyndale,

These men, the Martin Marprelates, did but carry out and put in practice the rules which had been set them in former days: on those teachers I would further make some remark, as not only did the Puritans then appeal to their authority, but not a few still look up to them as worthy ornaments of the English Church. For example, Tyndale, the active spreader abroad of hasty translations of the Scriptures. *He* had said long before, what now in words scarcely less decent, was eagerly repeated. In his '*Obedience of a Christian man*,' p. 102, he had attempted to prove (proved as he blasphemously himself declared) 'That the Bishops were Anti-'christs, inasmuch as in their doctrine, and their 'doings, they are directly against Christ and his 'word.' Again, in his '*Practice of Prelates*,' p. 374, he had said, 'It is not possible naturally, there 'should be any honest Lord Bishop.' The references I have given are those in the '*Protestation*,'

p. 16, and in ‘ *The Just Censure*,’ *sign. D.* 1, and are without doubt to the folio edition of the collected works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes. This volume I have not at hand to look into: but should have had no difficulty in producing many such passages from the original editions of Tyndale's books, if I had not been fully certain that they are not misquoted, and preferred following in the present instance Martin's own guidance.

John Fox,

Another, whom I would notice, has been still more widely known and reputed in the English Church: John Fox, the martyrologist, as he has been called. His authority as an historian fortunately has passed away, and the merest pretenders to accuracy, the lady-sciolists, the *Costellos* and the *Stricklands* in their Lives and Memoirs, have their kick at the dead lion. But it was an evil day, when the rulers of the Church, so far as lay in their power, gave effect to, and stamped their seal upon his heretical doctrines and exaggerated tales. It was an evil day, I repeat, when the same Convocation which laid down this Canon about preachers, ‘ Imprimis vero videbunt, ne quid unquam doceant ‘ pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et ‘ credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ ‘ veteris aut novi testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doc-

'trina catholici patres, et veteres episcopi collegerint,' issued also this injunction,—'Quivis Archiepiscopus, et episcopus habebit domi suæ sacra Biblia in amplissimo volumine, uti nuperrime Londini excusa sunt, et plenam* illam historiam quæ inscribitur *Monumenta Martyrum*. Locentur autem isti libri, vel in aula, vel in grandi cœnaculo, ut et ipsorum famulis, et advenis usui esse possint.'† This was truly blowing both hot and cold: and we shall have a proof presently of its sure consequences.

Bishop Hooper,

Listen also to Bishop Hooper. One of the most rare of his works is his 'Godly Confession and Protestacion of the Christian fayth, made and set furth &c. wherein is declared what a christiã manne is bound to beleue of God, hys King, his neibour, and himselfe.' 4to. 1550. The running title throughout is 'The Confession of Ihon Hoopers fayth.' This book is dated 'xxth of Decembre,' some six months after he had been consecrated to

* The *English* edition of these Canons, which was put forth at the same time as the Latin, and by the same printer, has 'that full and perfect history.' The interpolation is worth remark.

† Liber quorundam Canonum disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Anno 1571. Pp. 5 and 19. *Edit.* Londini apud Johannem Dayum. 4to.

his Bishopric: and we may be certain, that on such a subject, at such a time, more than usual caution would be used. We must remember that this was little more than a year after the publication of the new Book of Common Prayer, when many thousands of sincere men stood hesitating, unable to go on as rapidly as himself, unable also to see the propriety of so numerous and important changes in their mode of worship; was it decent then, was it a fit example, to strive to create an undeserved prejudice against such men, and attack their loyalty by way of indulging his anger, and speak of the 'ministers of the churche, persons and vicars, one 'hand upon the portesse, & the other to strike at 'the kinges crown.'? *Sign. F.* 1. *Rev.* Or was it likely to be without its evil consequences hereafter, that a Bishop of the Church should say, 'As cō-'cerning the ministers of the Church, I beleue that 'the church is bound to no sort of people, or any 'ordinary successiō of bishops, Cardinals or such 'like, but unto the only word of god, and none of 'thē shuld be beleued but whē thei speke y^e^ word 'of god.'? *Sign. G. ij.*

I pass by other works of the same Bishop: I pass by also references which I have noted in the productions of another who held the same office,

and whose writings were during very great part of the sixteenth century held in the highest estimation, I mean, Bishop Bale:* and several more books of the same period: and shall now only quote further upon this point, the forty-fifth of the *Theses Martinianæ*, 'That this wicked gouernement of bishops 'was an especial point, gainesaid by the seruants of 'God, in the time of King Henrie the eight, and 'Q. Marie; and in the withstanding whereof they 'died, the holie martires of Christ Iesus.' and Bishop Bale.

To return then to the '*Harborow for faithfull subjects*.' The book is a quarto, in which the signatures run to R. 3. in fours: upon the reverse of the last leaf of which sheet is a device in a square compartment, probably the printer's. It has 125 pages, according to the paging in a contemporary hand of a copy now before me. Below the title upon the same page is a text from Prov. xxxii.; and under it, 'at Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill.' It admits of some doubt whether this date refers to The Harborow.

* Among the numerous pieces which remain of Bishop Bale's, is a translation in English of Bishop Gardiner's Oration *De vera obedientia*. In the preface to this, there is one passage, so abominably abusive, so blasphemous, and expressed in language so obscene, that it is utterly impossible to quote it. There is nothing even approaching it, in all the Marprelate tracts.

the conclusion of the author's or the printer's labours. From the character however, of the types and spelling, it appears to have been printed abroad. I have been particular in giving some account of the volume, in consequence of its extreme rarity, and its intimate connexion in many respects, though above thirty years preceding them in time, with the pamphlets of Martin Marprelate.

Full of extreme opinions.

The latter reason tempts me to give an extract or two more, proving that there is no lack in it of violent and bitter language. Such as calling the Church of Rome 'a beast,—the dungeon of de-'uelishe doctrine, couered with the rotten bones of 'Romyshe Martirs, synfule Sayntes, and counter-'faited Confessores.'—*Sign. B.* 4. Bidding 'priests 'and prelats to howld and wail, not for the daunger 'you stand in, of losing your bishopriks and bene-'fices, your pomp and your pride; your dignities 'and honors, your riches and welth: but for that 'hel hath opened hys mouth wide, and gapeth to 'swallowe you, &c.'—*Sign. D.* 4. Complaining that the Parliament of Queen Mary 'stouped con-'trary to their othes and alledgiaunce to the crowne, 'againste the preuilege of that house, vppon their 'marye bones to receiue the Deuels blessinge, 'brought vnto them by satans Apostle the Cardi-

'nal.' *Sign. H.* 3. Accusing 'my lordes of the 'clargie, as gaping to see the daye wherein they 'myghte washe their goodly whyte ratchettes in the 'innocent bloude of Elizabeth,' and that they could not but be sure of destroying her, 'when they sawe 'so many holy martirs sacrificed to the God in the 'boxe.' And gibing at the habits of Bishops of the Church, calling them 'ratchetters.' *Sign. N.* 4. Scoffing at the holy Communion also, as a 'blestered masse.' *Sign. O.* 1. Regretting that under Queen Mary any of the nobility or gentry had been forced to give up their sacrilegious gains, and to disgorge some of the fair manors of the plundered Church, *Sign. O.* 1; and threatening the Bishops of Elizabeth, and telling them, 'Let the Quene have 'the rest of your temporalties and other lands to 'maintain these warres which you procured, and 'with the rest to builde and founde scoles thorow 'oute the realme: that euerye parishe church may 'haue his preacher, euery city his superintendent 'to live honestly and not pompously.' *Sign. O.* 4. I shall quote no more passages upon this head: far more even than all this to our present purpose is it that Aylmer at Strasburg had said, what Bishop Aylmer was reminded of by Martin Marprelate, that 'those that be preachers, must be no mylke

'soppes, no white lyuered gentlemen, that for the 'frowning and cloudy countenance of euery man in 'authoritie, will leaue his tackle and crie Peccavi.' *Sign. H.* 1; and that Bishops must 'away with 'their superfluities, yeld up their thousands, be 'content with hundreds, as they be in other re-'formed churches,' *Sign. O.* 4.

The Bishop excepts the Queen of Scots.

Although *the Harborowe* was written expressly to uphold the lawfulness of female government, yet the author could not but allow that in his opinion, Mary the Queen of Scotland, was an exception. Queen Elizabeth was a favourer (he supposed) of his own particular views: this was one way of looking at the question: Queen Mary was attached to the religion of her forefathers, and disgusted with Knox and his faction: this was another point of view. 'The present state of Scotland,' he says, (I take the passage from Strype, *Aylmer*, p. 230,*) 'through the fault of the person and not of the sex 'is unnatural, unreasonable, unjust and unlawfull. 'And that if he (meaning Knox) had kept him in 'that particular person, he could have said nothing 'too much, nor in such wise as could have offended

* Strype gives no reference: it is *Sign. B.* 2. I rather think Mary of England, and not of Scotland, is the person meant: Strype's defence of the Bishop requires the latter,

'any indifferent man.' I would have the reader, as a sort of commentary upon this, remember a letter of Aylmer's predecessor in the See of London, Archbishop Sandys, who, writing to Burleigh, enclosed a paper of measures, which he thought expedient at that time for the good of the realm; coolly beginning, 'Forthwith to cut off the Scottish Queen's 'head.'*

I am glad now to dismiss Bishop Aylmer's book, as neither our present object, nor the question itself how far women are competent to rule, seems to call for any further notice of it.

The Puritans at that time, confident of success.

A remarkable feature of the first Marprelate tracts is, the expressions which frequently occur in them of the certain expectation which their authors had, that the Church of England, as ruled by Bishops and Priests, was now tottering to its downfall. 'Look to yourselves, I think you have not long to 'raigne,' is Martin's advice to the Bishops, reminding us of the warning given within a few years past, by one now alive, in his place as a peer of the realm, to their successors, that they should '*set their houses in order.*' And such expectations, humanly

and he insists on it. I look on it as a matter of not the least consequence which Queen was intended.

* Ellis's Royal Letters. 2nd Series. Vol. iii. 25.

speaking, were not unfounded. As the learned editor of the last edition of the Ecclesiastical Polity has observed (*Preface*, lii.), there are certain points, *turning points*, in the annals of the Church, when God in His mercy is at length pleased to interfere, and stop at once the whole course of things tending (almost without hope) some one evil way. 'One of these critical periods,' the editor continues, 'if he mistakes not, is the latter portion of the sixteenth century.' It was not unnatural, therefore, that the Puritans should begin to rejoice that they were about to gain their end: and even Hooker seems to have thought as they did, that there was but little hope of escape for the English Church, and that her candlestick would be very soon removed. The Puritans wrote as if in triumph, he confessedly desponding: both could but look upon the struggle passing around them, as being themselves *actors* in it, only guessing at the probable event, and not as *we* are, at a long distance of time after all is over, able to discern, if I may venture to say so, the plain interposition at the proper hour, of the Almighty Hand. This doubt which Hooker evidently felt, and the fearful peril in which to his judgment (and so far we need no better) matters appeared to be, are clearly shown by the first sentence of his

own Preface to his great work. 'Though,' he says, —'though for no other cause, yet for this; that 'posteritie may know we have not loosely through 'silence permitted things to passe away as in a 'dreame, there shall be for men's information ex- 'tant thus much concerning the present state of 'the Church of God established amongst vs, and 'their carefull endeuour which woulde haue vpheld 'the same.'

This is a very important point: I shall further illustrate it by a passage from a famous book of the day, published about 1585. 'The State of the Church of Englande, laide open in a Conference.' The speaker in this extract is *Demetrius*, a Bishop. He says, 'The Puritanes in Scotland, haue got vp 'their discipline, and vtterly overthrowen all the 'soueraigntie of Bishops, by which they preuailed 'so mightilie, *that we feared our fall in England 'shortlie to ensue*, wherevpon I was sent to go and 'seeke the subuersion of their great assemblies, 'and the rest of their iurisdiction, wherein I pre- 'uailed a while, but now it is woorse, than euer it 'was.' *Pandocheus*, an Innkeeper to whom (upon his journey home) he is supposed to be speaking, enquires, 'How came it to passe, that when you had 'gotten some ground, you held it not? *Diotrephes*.

Further proofs of this important point.

'Because the whole land cried out for Discipline 'againe, and the noble men so stifly did stand to it, 'and lastly, the ministers that came home from 'England, dealt so boldlie with the King, that I 'was vtterlie cast out without hope, and *nowe I* '*make homewarde in haste, lest I lose all there* '*also.*' * Among some papers seized by the Archbishop's officers in 1588, the year in which the *Epistle* and the *Epitome* were published, was an account of some questions debated by the Puritans shortly before. It seems that they had actually begun to discuss a difficulty which was likely soon to occur. 'How, when all the Church's revenues that then were should be converted, to maintain their presbyteries, her Majesty should be recompensed for her first-fruits and tenths. For that they would pay none, as being unlawful.'†

Martin's conditions of peace.

Hence, therefore, it was not merely in jest, that Martin Marprelate scoffingly proposed the following 'conditions of peace, to be inuiolablie kept for euer,' between his party and the Bishops of the Church.

'1. In primis, the said Lord Bb. must promise 'and obserue, without fraud or collusion, and that 'as much as in them lyeth, they labor to promote

* State of the Ch. of Engl. &c. Sign. B. 2.

† Strype. Life of Whitgift, 292.

'the preaching of the worde in euery part of this 'land.

'2. That hereafter they admitt none vnto the 'ministerie, but such as shalbe knowen, both for 'their godlinesse and learning, to be fit for the 'ministerie—and that they suffer M. Cartwrightes 'answere to the Rhemish Testament to be pub-'lished.

'3. That neyther they nor theyr seruants—urge 'any to subscribe contrary to the statute 13 Eliza. '—that none be suspended or silenced, eyther for 'speaking (when their text giueth them occasion) 'against the corruptions of the Church, for refusing 'to weare the surplice, cap, tippet, &c., or omitting 'the corruptions of the booke of common prayers, 'as churching of women, the crosse in baptisme, 'the ring in marriage, &c.

'4. That none be molested by them—for not 'kneeling at the communion, or for resorting on 'the Saboth (if they haue not preachers of their 'owne) to hear the word preached, and to receiue 'the Sacraments.

'5. Lastly, that they neuer hereafter profane ex-'communication ——; that they neuer forbid pub-'like fasts, molest either preacher or hearer, for 'being present at such assemblies. Briefly, that

'they neuer slander the cause of reformation, or 'the furtherers thereof, in terming the cause by the 'name of Anabaptisterie, schisme, &c., and the men 'puritans, and enemies to the state.'—*The Epistle*, pp. 38, 39.

His threats, if rejected.

'I offer you peace upon these conditions,' continues the writer shortly after, 'if you will keep 'them, but if you violate them either in whole or 'in part, then your learned brother Martin doth 'proclaim open war against you, and entendeth to 'worke your woe 2. maner of wayes as followeth. 'First, I will watch you at euery halfe turne, and 'whatsoeuer you do amisse, I will presently publish 'it: you shall not call one honest man before you, 'but I will get his examination,*—and publish it. 'To this purpose I will place a young Martin in 'euerie diocesse.†—Secondly, all the books that I 'have in store already of your doings, shall be pub-'lished—the catalogue of their names, and the 'arguments of some are as followeth:—First, my

* Among the Tracts contained in the *Parte of a Register* are, 'An examination of certayne Londonners before the 'Commissioners, about anno 1567.' 'The Bishops proceed-'ings against Maist. Robart Johnson Preacher, who dyed in 'the gate 1573.' and 'The Conference betweene some of 'the high Commissioners, and Mai. Marbury, anno 1578.'

† The Puritans soon after the year 1580, began to hold

'*Paradoxes*; 2. my *Dialogues*; 3. my *Miscela-*
'*nea*; 4. my *Variæ leiciones*; 5. *Martin's*
'*Dreame*; 6. *Of the liues and doings of English*
'*popes*: 7. my *Itinerarium* or *visitations*; 8.
'my *Lambathismes*. In my Paradoxes shalbe
'handled some points, which the comon sort haue
'not greatly considered of: as 1. That our prelats,
'if they professed popery, could not do so much
'hurt unto God's Church as now they do. 2. That
'the Diuele is not better practized in bowling and
'swering then John of London is, with other like
'points. What shalbe handled in my 2. 3. 4. 5.
'and 6. bookes, you shall know when you read
'them. *Epistle*, pp. 40, 41. (None of these threatened publications ever appeared, at least no copy of any one of them has been found.)

The demand, 'that they suffer M. Cartwright's 'answer to the Rhemish Testament to be pub-'lished,' requires some notice. This translation was put forth by the English College of Rhemes, The Rhemish Testament.

frequent provincial assemblies. At one of these, in the year 1588, at London, it was agreed, 'that the oppressions 'offered to others, and especially to the Ministers, by the 'Bishops and the Bishops' officers, and by their courts, 'should be gathered and registered.' *Vide Strype's Life of Whitgift*, 292. Strype observes also that this is according to Marprelate's threat in the passage above.

in 1582, 'with arguments of bookes and chapters, 'Annotations, and other necessarie helpes, for the 'better vnderstanding of the text, and specially for 'the discouerie of the Corruptions of diuers late 'translations, and for cleering the Controversies in 'religion, of these daies.' So the title of the book expresses it. There is a long preface to the reader, and each chapter is followed by annotations, as well as the text accompanied with frequent pithy marginal notes, very much to the purpose which the Rhemists had in hand. At the end is a table of Controversies, by which the reader might at once turn to any doctrine disputed and see the texts quoted on it, with the above-mentioned annotations or remarks. This volume was undoubtedly distributed widely in England, and its rarity at present arises from the same cause which has operated upon so many books of the same time, the care which was taken to suppress and destroy the copies. And the consequences which followed were those which the Romanists looked for: its very title would excite curiosity, and people would see not only that English translations might give most opposite renderings of the original, but that others besides the Reformers did not fear in such guise to appeal to Scripture.

Cartwright's Confutation.

It was soon seen that an answer was necessary: and the preface of 'the Publisher to the studious reader,' in Cartwright's Confutation, when it was published at last in 1618, gives us some history of the undertaking. He says of Cartwright himself, that though most anxious that some one should perform the work, 'yet humilitie and modestie made 'him stay, untill he was in some sort enforced unto 'the labour.' It seems that Sir Francis Walsingham pressed the matter upon him, and 'sent him 'an hundred pounds towards the charges, which 'buying of books and procuring of writers was like 'to bring upon him: this was about the yeare 1583.' 'The same yeare also he was solicited very ear-'nestly by the most learned men of the Vniversitie 'of Cambridge,' and by several others of great influence. So Cartwright began his Confutation: but was much discouraged in his progress, until at last in 1590 he writes 'to an Earle and privie 'Councellor of great note, that aboue 4 yeares be-'fore, he had received cōmaundement from the 'Archbishop, to deale no further in it.' It seems that nevertheless he continued, and made every effort to have it allowed when completed: but in this he did not succeed: and nearly thirty years elapsed before it was published. During the in-

terval, the mice (says the Publisher) had destroyed some part of the manuscript, and that with other defects were supplied from Dr. Fulke.* There is no place or printer's name: yet there is not sufficient ground to suppose with Strype, that after so great a length of time, it was still necessary to print it privately.

The subject of *Cartwright's Confutation* is one frequently alluded to, and complained of in the Marprelate tracts: it is worth our notice also, as evidencing, (though we know not the exact reasons wherefore in this particular case, yet) at least that the Archbishop and those who acted with him were not more afraid of the evil consequences which were said to follow the Rhemish translation, than they were of the remedy which was proposed to be administered by the Puritans.

Remarks upon the Statute, 13. Elizabeth.

Far more important was the demand that, 'neyther they nor theyr servants urge any to subscribe 'contrary to the Statute 13. Eliza.' This Statute was entitled, 'An Act for the Ministers of the

* Dr. Fulke's book against the Rhemish Testament was published in 1589, in Fol. and again in 1617. His defence of the English translations separately in 1583. Cartwright also had *an answer to the Preface of the Rhemists* printed at Edinburgh, shortly before his death, 1603.

'Church to be of sound religion,' and the first clause directed, 'That every Person under the degree of 'a Bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a 'Priest or Minister of God's holy Word and Sacra- 'ments, by reason of any other Form of Institution, 'Consecration or Ordering, than the Form set forth 'by Parliament in the Time of the late King of 'most worthy Memory, King Edward the Sixth, or 'now used in the reign of our most gracious Sove- 'reign Lady, before the feast of the Nativity of 'Christ next following, shall in the presence of the 'Bishop —— declare his assent, and subscribe to 'all the Articles of Religion, which only concern 'the Confession of the true Christian Faith and the 'Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a Book 'imprinted, intituled, "Articles whereupon it was 'agreed, &c."' I take this from the *Statutes at Large*, vol. 2. printed by the King's printers, in 1786: and it is observable that there might be a doubt as to whether the oath was to be taken by all such persons 'before the feast of the Nativity next following,' or rather as it seems to me, whether that clause did not limit the privilege conferred by this Act to those only who before the said Feast had been or should be ordained under any other Form. I leave this to the judgment of men better

learned in such inquiries, merely adding that both the sense and the punctuation (as given in the Statutes before me) appear to support my view. And the practice which followed must be considered. Whether the Act was framed with regard chiefly to priests who had been ordained with the ancient Forms by Bishops, or whether, as is equally probable, it looked also to those who had received whilst in exile foreign ordination at the hands of elders or presbyters, it is quite certain that the Puritan ministers quickly claimed under it, freedom from penalties and permission to exercise their calling. As far as the Act is concerned, there was no objection to this, in the case of those who before the Feast named, had so received orders or pretended orders: but the Puritans (as we see Martin Marprelate does) went on to claim the like liberty for the future.

Cases of Dean Whittingham,

Now there are two cases very much to the point, and both famous. The one of Whittingham, Dean of Durham, who was cited by Sandys the Archbishop of the province, and an attempt was made to deprive him as a layman. This was in 1578. When he appeared before the Commissioners, he produced a certificate, that in Queen Mary's days, 'It pleased God, by the suffrages of the whole con-

'gregation, at Geneva, orderly to choose Mr. Whit-
'tingham, unto the office of preaching the word of
'God, and ministring the Sacraments: and he was
'admitted minister: and so published, with such
'other ceremonies as here are used and accus-
'tomed.'* There is here, (as Neal observes was objected at the time,) no mention of a Bishop, or any external solemnity, or even of an imposition of hands: nevertheless he was not rejected, and retained his dignity till his death.† The other is the case of Hooker's opponent in the Temple, Travers: he was suspended by the Archbishop, and claimed exemption under this Act, because he had been ordained (as he called it) at Antwerp in 1578. But the claim was not allowed, his suspension was continued, and he was silenced for life. and Travers.

It was a frequent source of complaint by the disaffected non-conformists, that their interpretation of this Act was resisted: if it had not been, if Martin's demand had been acceded to, it is impossible

* Neal. i. 243.

† Against the case of Whittingham as represented above, I am aware that many years afterwards, Whitgift said, 'if he had lived, he would have been deprived.' But he adds, 'His cause and Mr. Travers were not alike.' Vide Life of Whitgift. 252. and Appendix No. xxx. The fact remains: Dean Whittingham was not deprived.

to overrate the evils which would have followed: coming in among his proposals and 'conditions of peace,' as it does, scarcely (as it were) of much consequence in the dispute, and relating to a Statute of seemingly allowed doubtfulness, it might possibly have been admitted without due consideration at the time, as now, many who read the passage, overlook altogether its extreme importance: it would not be too much to say, that the whole question hung, in one sense, upon this point.*

Story of the Bishop of Gloucester.

There are many ridiculous tales told of the Church-party, both in the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*. I extract one of a sermon said to be preached by the 'Bishop of Gloucester now living.' (John Bullingham.) 'On a time he preaching at Worcester 'before he was B. vpon Sir John's † day: as he 'trauersed his matter, and discoursed vpon many 'points, he came at the length vnto the very pithe 'of his whol sermon, contained in the distinction of 'the name of Iohn, which he then shewing all his

* I do not enter into the question how far the same Act allowed *some* and not *all* the Articles to be subscribed: this was not the point which Martin Marprelate pressed, and the Courts decided that an absolute subscription was required. Vide *Collier*, 2. 530. who cites *Green's* case.

† I shall remark presently upon this use of *Sir* for *Saint* by the Puritans.

'learning at once, full learnedly handled after this 'manner. Iohn, Iohn, the grace of God, the grace 'of God, the grace of God: gracious Iohn, not 'graceless Iohn, but gracious Iohn. Iohn, holy 'Iohn, holy Iohn, not Iohn full of holes, but holy 'Iohn. If he shewed not himselfe learned in this 'sermond, then hath he bene a duns all his life.' *Epistle*, p. 47. I would not undertake to say how little of this anecdote is really true, nor I suppose would any one, who has examined many examples which remain of pulpit oratory in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

And another story,

I extract another story: these will shew the spirit of the rest. 'Some presbyter priest,' it seems from what follows after, a bishop, 'being lately de-'manded whether he should be bishop of Eli, an-'swered that now he had no great hope to be B. of 'Eli: and therefore, quoth he, I may say well 'inough, Eli, Eli, Lamma-sabacthani. Eli, Eli, why 'hast thou forsaken me. Alluding very blasphe-'mously vnto the words which our Sauiour Christe 'spake, in his greatest agonie vpon the crosse.' *Epistle*. p. 49. My readers will agree that very blasphemous was such an allusion: we can scarcely believe that it was other than an invention of the writer, or at least fathered unjustly upon an English

perhaps to be traced to Bishop Aylmer.

prelate. And yet Bishop Aylmer makes us doubt, upon the evidence of his own book: (I am obliged in justice to refer to it once more:) in the *Harborowe* he dared to jest in no less an unseemly way upon the same solemn text. Speaking of a certain argument he says, 'This riseth of wronge vnder-'standinge, as the Vicar of Trumpington vnder-'stode Eli, Eli, lamahzabatani, when he red the 'Passion vpon Palme Sonday; when he came to 'that place he stopped, and calling the Church-'wardens saide: Neighbours this geare must be 'amended, heare is Eli twise in the booke, I assure 'you if my L. of Elie come thys waye and see it, 'hee will haue the booke. Therefore by mine ad-'vice we shall scrape it out, and put in oure owne 'townes name, Trumpington, Trumpington, lamah-'zabactani: they consented, and he did so.' *Harborowe.* Sign. G. iij. Rev.

Besides anecdotes of this sort, the *Epistle* and the *Epitome* abound in scandalous stories of various people in authority, especially of the Bishops of London and Winchester, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. There are one or two passages in the first of these volumes in which Martin Marprelate shews a lurking fear that in thus publicly repeating them, he has overstepped even the usual allowed

Martin deprecates the interference of the bishops.

broad limits of his party, and that a severe inquiry would be set on foot after himself, and those who printed or bought his tracts. For example, in the *Epistle* he demands among his "Conditions of Peace," 'that none be molested by them, (i. e. the 'bishops) or any their aforesaid servants, for this 'my booke;' and again, 'If you would haue my 'friendship, as I seeke yours, then let me see that 'you persecute no more, and especially, that you 'trouble none for this booke of mine.' Pp. 38. 43. Before the *Epitome* was published his anticipations were realised: and he now threatens, 'I thinke not 'well of your dealing with my worship, and those 'that haue had of my bookes in their custodie. 'Ile make you rue that dealing of yours, vnlesse 'you leaue it.' P. 1. And his last sentence is, 'I 'would deuise them not to persecute men for my 'worships booke as they doe.'

Denies his book to be a libel.

The author will not have his book to be a libel: and his denial that it is so is curious. 'You will 'go about,' he says, 'I knowe, to proue my booke 'to be a libell, but I haue preuented you of that 'aduantage in lawe, both in bringing in nothing 'but matters of fact, whiche may easily be proued, 'if you dare denie them, and also setting my name 'to my booke.' *Epistle*, p. 40. I am at a loss

which we are here to admire the most: the legal knowledge displayed by the Nonconformist party, or its strict adherence to the truth.

The Epitome ends with 'Errata, or faults escaped.' The first is as follows. 'Whersoever the prelats 'are called, my Lords, either in the Epistle to the 'confocation house, or in this Epitome, take that 'for a fault. Because they are none of M. Martins 'Lords, neither shal any priest of them all be my 'Lord. For I tell thee true, I think foul scorne 'they should be my Lords, or the Lords of any of 'my sonnes.'

The extracts above, not more than sufficient to shew the spirit of the time.

I trust that enough has been said about these, the first two tracts of Martin Marprelate. Enough very probably to tire the reader, but not more than was necessary to show the spirit in which they were written, and the objects at which they aimed. Their appearance astounded the people of England; and their unknown authors became at once 'the observed of all observers.' In the state in which parties at that time were, it was not that men could suppose that there was any prospect of peace for the Church, but they were not prepared for such an attack, for the undisguised expression of so great confidence in the result, and hope of speedy triumph. For a time, as we shall see, the experiment pros-

pered: and the Puritans would not have been slack to make their next move in the game, buoyed on by their success. I do not think that, looking back upon the whole matter and upon the years immediately preceding, there is much to be surprised at, either in the attempt, or in the danger in which it placed the Church of England.

Puritanism in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the great outlet for the discontented.

In every age there have always been hasty and turbulent, or sour and discontented men, who wanted some outlet for their discontent and violence, and cared little against what they were directed provided only that an opening was found. In the latter years of Queen Elizabeth, the one object seemed to be, the remnant which had escaped the religious revolutionists of Edward's and Henry's reigns. Many questions of great importance had gradually dwindled into almost utter insignificance, or sunk quietly to rest: many others through changes in the political world had lost their interest, or ceased to be even among the probable chances of that busy time: but still one party persevered: the loss, by death, of one leader, the defection of another, only served to stimulate the exertions of the rest, and to produce new hosts. Like a vortex, it was absorbing rapidly the scattered fragments of parties which had been broken and dispersed, but formerly united

with some far different purpose. So, all that had hitherto been given up to clamour, and abandoned through fear, did but whet the appetites and excite the passions of men who pretended to be more thorough reformers. Others, again, would sit speculating in their closets, or draw conclusions natural enough from premises laid down by the writers of some forty years before, then go into the world, and look out for an opportunity of putting these theories and conclusions into active practice. Lastly, we must not forget that the popular preachers of the day were not idle in heaping fresh fuel upon the fire. The pulpit then, in many an instance, served the end which now the daily press amongst us does, not merely spreading intelligence abroad, but stirring up and leading the people.

Whether such men would have entered Monasteries in other times.

It has been frequently said that many among these, of whom I have just been speaking, would have become, in the centuries immediately preceding, inmates of monasteries; that there they would have sought for refuge from disappointment, and, in the equal routine of the daily services and duties of such foundations, have found relief from the excitement of eager and unsatisfied and visionary hopes. The fact also has been triumphantly appealed to in support of this opinion, that, until of

late years, (late, that is in comparison,) so great outrages by professed Christians upon religion and religious ordinances were unheard of. With this I cannot agree; and (I mention it here merely incidentally, as matter (it may be) for future consideration) I think the same objection lies, in a measure, against the too hasty revival, amongst ourselves, of conventual institutions, solely with their ancient purpose. Convents and monasteries will be only a refuge, to be very partially indeed available, and of very limited use, *so long as the masses are irreligiously educated under an imperfect system.* Most certainly, as regards the Elizabethan Puritans, if the abbeys had been still standing in their time, I cannot think that they and the Martin Marprelates would have taken the monastic vows. They were fanatics and seditious preachers, not sober-minded and earnest, not desirous, by a more intimate communion with their God, to forget the world. Their great aim was to be among 'the powers of this world.' There were none such, perhaps, among their fathers as they were; but their fathers had been otherwise brought up. In after days the foundations of the Church had been shaken, her strongholds overthrown, her ordinances ridiculed, her powers despised, her faith changed, her

worship meanly, poorly provided for; and we may as well expect the thunder not to succeed the flash, as that such a generation should *not* follow, as its most natural progeny, such an age as were the first sixty years of the sixteenth century. The seeds had been sown with an unsparing hand; home produce and foreign had been mixed in most strange and horrible confusion; these had been thrown into one hotbed to grow up as they might, and we cannot be surprised at the rank luxuriance of the crop.

CHAPTER III.

I SHALL now proceed to a publication which was intended to check the outbreaks of Martin Marprelate and his faction. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, boldly took up the cause; and in the work, (No. 3,) '*An Admonition to the People of England*,' soberly appealed to their good feelings, and warned them against the ribaldry and exaggerations of Martin's pamphlets. The Admonition.

Bishop Cooper had been a few years before translated from the See of Lincoln, to which he had been elected in 1570, having previously been Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and Dean of Gloucester. He was originally of low parentage; and Anthony à Wood gives us an account of the misery which he endured through the misconduct of his wife. There are many indecent allusions to her notorious ill-living in the Marprelate tracts, the authors of which cared not a whit for the feelings of other men, and spared not their misfortunes, so long as Bishop Cooper.

they might raise a laugh by gibing at them; or through them, injure the reputation of the Church at large. Wood tells us, that it was proposed to set him free by a divorce, but he would not consent, and 'to divorce and marry again, he would not 'charge his conscience with so great a scandal.'

His "Thesaurus" attacked by M. Marprelate.

In 1565, Cooper published his 'Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ,' &c. fol., commonly known as '*Cooper's Dictionary*;' 'this work was 'so highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth,' continues Dr. Bliss, in his additions to Wood, 'that ever 'after she endeavoured to promote the author as 'high in the Church as she could.' Whether rightly or wrongly, (I have not examined the book,) it is certain that there were more than one opinion of its merits. Martin Marprelate says 'that it was 'a mere compilation, unworthy of a scholar.' 'Alas!' says one of the speakers in the '*Dialogue*,' (No. 6,) 'he is altogether vnlearned, (for I have 'heard of him in Oxford, and the papists say they 'can make him beleeue the moone is made of greene 'cheese,) marry to get him a name (forsooth), 'being a correcter with a printer in fleet streete in 'London, who printed a Dictionarie, called *Sir* '*Thomas Eliott's* dictionarye, Cooper translated 'a peece of *Robert Stephanus* his Thesaurus, and

'joined it to the same with a fewe phrases, and so 'bereaued the famous knight of his labour, and calls 'it by the name of *Cooper's Dictionary*.'—*Dialogue, sign, B.* 3. (Quoted also by Dr. Bliss from Tanner's Bibl. Brit.) Anxious as the Puritans must have been to rake up any old stories against Bishop Cooper, it is indeed very much in his favour that we find but little against him, except the unfair imputation to himself of his wife's ill-conduct, and this charge about the dictionary.

The gloomy view taken by the Bishop.

As to the *Admonition*, how sad, how very sad, is the first sentence of it. Surely, we exclaim, is this England, Catholic England, against which such complaints are laid? Is this the land, and within few years, of so many holy Bishops and good saints of Christ? We no longer wonder that at that very time Richard Hooker gave way to despondency. 'When,' says the Bishop, 'I call to my remem-'brance the loathsome contempt, hatred, and dis-'daine, that the most part of men in these dayes 'beare, and in the face of the worlde declare towarde 'the ministers of the Church of God, as well Bishops 'as other among vs here in Englande; my heart 'cannot but greatly feare and tremble at the con-'sideration thereof.'—*Adm.* p. 1. And again, shortly after, 'Who seeth not in these dayes, that

'hee who can most bitterly inueigh against Bishops 'and Preachers, that can most boldely blaze their 'discredites, that can most vncharitably slaunder 'their liues and doings, thinketh of himselfe, and is 'esteemed of other, as the most zealous and earnest 'furtherer of the Gospel.'—P. 2.

So also by Dr. Bancroft.

In a like melancholy tone, within the same year, 1588, did Dr. Bancroft speak, preaching at Paul's Cross. He had already noted 'the general contempt of Bishops;' and towards the end of that his famous sermon, goes on to say, that the terrible evils which had already fallen upon the Churches abroad through their intemperateness, were greatly to be feared at home. 'For,' he continues, 'it 'seemeth to me, that whatsoever hath bin done 'heerein abroad, is labored for to be put in execu-'tion heer with us at home. Our Bishops you see 'how unchristianly they are handled, even with 'more contumely and disdainful reproch, then 'ever it is to be read that the heathen used against 'their priests, of what condition and behavior 'soever.' *Bancroft's Sermon, Pp.* 14. 80.

But Marprelate was to be answered.

It appears that when the *Admonition* was published, there had not been sent abroad by the Marprelates more than two or three pamphlets. This is rendered almost certain by the author of '*Hay*

any Worke,' who says (p. 35) 'I haue onely pub-'lished a Pistle, and a Pitomie, wherein also I 'graunt that I did reasonably Pistle them. There-'fore T. C. you begin with a lye, in that you say 'that I haue published either 3 or 4 bookes.' But the eagerness with which these few had been read, and more were looked for, seemed to call for some immediate notice. The scandalous stories told of the Archbishop, and of Bishop Aylmer, and of Cooper himself, required a contradiction; even where they did not admit of direct and complete denial, yet the exaggerations were to be exposed. To these points the beginning of the *Admonition* is directed. Each charge is separately dealt with, and satisfactorily also.

Among those accusations which could not altogether be denied, as having no foundation, were two against Bishop Aylmer; one, of appropriating some cloth which had been stolen from certain dyers, (who afterwards claimed it in vain,) and had been hidden by the thieves in a ditch. The Bishop's answer was, that the dyers could not prove the identity of the cloth. The other, that he had cut down too much timber upon his estates at Fulham, and elsewhere: this Bishop Cooper also asserts to be mere exaggeration, and that not more had been

cut than was necessary for the benefit of the rest: and that the Queen had complained that the great number of the elms shut out the prospect from the windows of her own palace. Now whatever truth there might be in this answer, (and Bishop Cooper was not perhaps in a condition to inquire strictly into it,) there are these facts: that Bishop Bancroft who succeeded to the See of London, afterwards, in a bill intended to be brought before the Parliament to enable him to meet his expenses, complained that Aylmer had made six thousand pounds of his woods, and had left scarcely enough to find yearly fuel: and the Queen issued a Commission of Enquiry into the matter, during Aylmer's own incumbency, which decided that there was sufficient reason for a restraint that he should hereafter take down no more of his woods.

I shall extract only one or two more of the replies made in the *Admonition*, to the complaints of Martin Marprelate.

Touching the Apocrypha &c. says the Bishop, referring to the *Epistle* (p. 37,) wherein it was complained, that 'the last lent there came a commaunde-'ment from his grace into Paules Churchyard, that 'no Byble should be bounde without the Apocri-'pha.'—'He gave commaundement in deede, and

'meaneth to see it observed. For who ever sepa-
'rated this *Apocrypha* from the rest of the *Bible*
'from the beginning of Christianity to this day?
'or what Church in the worlde, refourmed or other,
'doth yet at this present? and shal we suffer this
'singularitie in the Church of England, to the ad-
'uauntage of the aduersary, offence of the godly,
'and contrary to al the world besides?'—*Adm.* p.
49. Again—'Among other their reproches, they
'affirme of the Bishop of *Rochester*, that hee pre-
'sented himselfe to a benefice. I doe not think it
'to be true, for that I know it can not be good in
'lawe. If he hath procured a benefice in way of
'*commendam* (as they call it) it is by lawe allowed,
'and hath been done by other.'—P. 62. Soon after,
it is said, that the Bishop of Lincoln had been
attacked merely because he was a member of the
High Commission Court.

The Bishops unpopular, being unsupported.

It is not to be wondered at that the Bishops, so soon even as the early part of Elizabeth's reign, should have become odious to the non-conforming clergy. For the most powerful of all reasons was working against them. Strong measures were found necessary, in order to enforce uniformity of worship, and an unmutilating observance of the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of

the Sacraments.* The Queen would not permit those who were in authority to connive at any disobedience. She insisted therefore upon the Bishops acting with boldness and sincerity—but she gave them openly no assistance. She refused to approve of the body of Injunctions which Archbishop Parker drew up, and laid before the Council in 1564. She would have it, 'that the prelates had already sufficient authority to act as she wished.'† Hence

* In the condition in which the Church of England was during the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, it would require but little interference to create great dissatisfaction. Complaints against authority are generally in proportion to the amount of existing abuses. There is a statement preserved in Strype's Life of Parker (i. 302), which was found among Secretary Cecil's papers, giving an account of the multitude of various ways in which Divine Service was performed. Some read in one place, others in another: some administered the Holy Eucharist to people sitting, others kneeling: some used the sign of the Cross, some did not: some wore a surplice, some not: &c. Again, in the Life of Whitgift we are told (P. 115), that many preachers would do nothing but preach, misliking the Communion Book: some officiated who were not ordained at all, others had only received foreign invalid ordination. In short, what with Bishops disaffected or timid or insincere, what with a Court either careless or temporizing, the Church of England was in the utmost risk of soon being even less than the shadow that practically she undoubtedly was.

† Strype, Life of Parker, i. 320.

were put forth the famous *Advertisements* of the same year, which the Bishops did enforce, only not prevented by the Crown from so doing. A still more invidious case occurred about two years after. Complaints were again made by the Queen against the Archbishop, that her laws were not executed: he and the Bishop of London proceeded immediately to open a court, and called before them the London clergy. The Queen seems to have promised that some from the Court should attend to support them: naming (says Secretary Cecil, who writes) 'himself, 'the Lord Keeper, and the Marquess of Northamp-'ton. But indeed they came not.'* 'Hence,' as Mr. Soames observes, 'all the odium of measures, 'really originating at court, fell upon the prelacy.'

There can be no doubt that the Bishops were but doing that which was their bounden duty. The temporising policy of the Court, and cowardly abandonment of its own officers, for such they were to a certain extent in this respect, were no less a carrying out of the principles of the world: and we need not inquire into any more remote cause, such as, (for example, as some suggest) that the Council numbered among its members many who refused to act against the non-conformists, and overruled

* Life of Parker. i. 429. Soames' Elizabethan Hist. 62.

the rest. The practice of Elizabeth's ministers has been that of their successors, with very rare exceptions, up to the present day. It was a putting into the front of the battle, unsupported, those who needed their best assistance: it was an open invitation to Martin Marprelate and his fellows, to accuse and calumniate their own agents, so long as themselves were spared. And when at last the Council did give further power to the Commissioners, this was wrung from it only by the peril in which, it at last became evident, their hesitation and pleasing of both sides had placed not the Church (this was a small matter), but the State also. In 1564 much less severity, much inferior authority well seconded by the countenance of the Crown, would have been probably successful. Some score of years after, it was too late: and the very greatness of the means provided to enforce obedience, and the almost unlimited powers then deputed to the High Commission, were not among the least of the causes which led to the Great Rebellion.

The ill results of such policy.

As the Bishop did not put his name to this defence against Martin Marprelate, he speaks of himself as the Bishop of Winchester, in the same way, with no greater particularity, answering the accusations which had been made against him. Let us

Bishop Cooper's reply to the charge that he was unlearned.

hear what he says about his learning; a delicate point to be handled by oneself. 'As for the re-'proch of *want of learning*, hee (i. e. the bishop 'of Winchester) will not striue much with them. 'The Bishoppe hath not vsed (God bee thanked) to 'vaunt himselfe of great learning. Neyther doth 'he disdaine to be accounted vnlearned of these 'men, which many yeares since contemned Bishoppe '*Jewell* as a man of no deepe learning, and euen 'of late daies could saye that *Erasmus* was no 'diuine. His praier is, that the small measure of 'knowledge, which it pleased God to giue in the 'continuance of fiftie yeeres studie,* may be im-'ployed to the glorie of God, and the benefite of 'his Countrey.—This is his greatest comfort, that 'since he was a yong man in *Magdalen Colledge* 'in *Oxford*, hee hath bene brought vp in the loue 'of the Gospell, and was reasonablie able to con-'firme his conscience, & to represse the aduersary, 'not only by the holy scriptures, but also by the 'writings of the anciēt Fathers, and the best authors 'of this age since the renewing of the Gospell, as 'he hath many honest and learned men witnesses 'yet aliue.' P. 77.

* This only gives Martin a handle to call him, 'a soaking old student of fiftie yeeres.'

On the name, Marprelate.

Upon the name which the Puritans had assumed, he observes, 'The author,' of these libels, 'calleth 'himselfe by a fained name, *Martin Marprelate:* 'a very fit name vndoubtedly. But if this out-'ragious spirit of boldenesse be not stopped speedily, 'I feare he wil proue himselfe to bee, not onely '*Mar-prelate*, but *Mar-prince*, *Mar-state*, *Mar-*'*lawe*, *Mar-magistrate*, and all together, vntil he 'bring it to an Anabaptisticall equalitie and com-'munitie.'—P. 30.

On the prohibition of Marriage.

The Puritans had objected against the old and good custom, still continued for a time in the Church of England, of prohibiting the celebration of marriage at certain solemn seasons of the year: 'thereby,' they pretended, 'giving occasion of sin to weake 'and fraile persons, or to burne in their consciences 'with great danger of their soules.' The Bishop answers, 'Vndoubtedly this must needs be thought 'a captious and rigorous interpretation, to say that 'a stay of marriage for certaine daies and weeks, is 'an vnchristian forbidding of marriage,—for then 'it is a Popish disorder also, and Antichristian cor-'ruption, to stay marriage for three weekes, vntill 'the banes be asked: for in that space, light and 'euill disposed mindes, may easily fall to offence.'

On Fasting.

—P. 104. The question of abstinence and fasting

is treated in much the same way. 'The law of 'forbearing flesh on Fridayes, in Lent, and other 'dayes, for the state of our countrey, I thinke very 'conuenient, and most necessarie to be vsed in 'Christian policie. I woulde to God those men, 'that make so small accompt of this lawe, had 'heard the reasons of the grauest, wisest, and most 'expert men of this realme, not only for the main-'tenance of this law, but also for some addition to 'be made vnto it.* How God hath placed this 'land, there is no reasonable man but seeth: The Sea 'are our walles, and if on these walles we haue not 'some reasonable furniture of ships, we shal tempt 'God:—there is no state of men, that doth so fur-

* The Bishop probably refers to an order of the Privy Council which was sent to the Archbishop in 1576, in which complaint was made that the embering and fish days were not duly observed, and 'it is ordered that they shall 'be more carefully seen unto and continued, than heretofore 'they have been.' But the Council directs also that the clergy, when they press this order upon their people, shall 'further declare unto them, that the same is not required for 'any liking of Popish ceremonies heretofore used (which 'utterly are detested), but only to maintain the mariners 'and the navy of this land, by setting men a fishing.' The whole may be seen in *Collier. Ecc. Hist.* ii. 557. Edit. 1708. It is not necessary to do more than allude to the well-known line taken in the Homily of Fasting, second part.

'nish this realme with sufficient numbers of mari-
'ners for our nauie, as fishers do. And howe shall
'fishers be maintained, if they have not sufficient
'vtterance for those thinges, for which they traucll?
'And howe can they haue utterance, if euery dainty
'mouthed man, without infirmitie and sicknesse,
'shall eat flesh at his pleasure? They cannot pre-
'tend religion, or restraint of Christian libertie,
'seeing open protestation is made by the lawe, that
'it is not for conscience sake, but for the defence
'and safetie of the realme.'—P. 107. Alas! that a Bishop of the Church of England, with the Book of Common Prayer open before him, could sum up such an argument, with such a conclusion! And this is what men called a *Reformation* of religion, and wanted more of it!

There is no want of instances in this book, proving the correctness of the remark made in Mr. Keble's Preface to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity (before cited), that the Church-writers of that day either would not or could not appeal to the true source of Christian teaching, together with the Holy Scriptures, viz. Catholic antiquity, but to the writings of the foreign Protestants, such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Calvin. For example: to prove the lawfulness (not to say the necessity) of the

Bishop Cooper appeals to the foreign Reformers.

Episcopal order, we read, 'Peter Martir, Bucer, 'and John de Alasco, graue men, and of great 'knowledge and godlinesse, did liue in that state 'vnder the Archbishops and bishops that then were, 'and wrote to them reuerendly, not refusing to giue 'them those Titles, that nowe bee accompted Anti-'christian. The like the (*sic*) did to other of late 'time. Reade the Preface of *Peter Martir*, set 'before his Dialogues against *Vbiquity*, & see what 'honourable testimonie hee giueth to Bishop *Iewel*, 'and what titles he affoordeth him.' P. 79. Again, answering objections made against the power of the Bishops, he sums up his argument, 'I will make 'no longer discourse herein. Such as doe doubt 'hereof, and desire to be better satisfied, I referre 'them to a Treatise which Maister *Beza* hath writ-'ten for that matter.' P. 135. But my reader must not suppose that such are (in the present case) the only authorities appealed to: the Bishop was well-read also in a better theology: and the names of the greatest Fathers occur again and again. Except also for the commendations which he bestows upon men, from the effects of whose evil influence over the Church of England we still suffer, and who should be spoken of to be condemned, I would readily suppose that reference was made to them,

chiefly that the adversaries might be overthrown by weapons from their own armory.

The judgment we should now form of the "Admonition."

I need now scarcely perhaps add that there are many statements in Bishop Cooper's work which we must utterly dissent from; indeed it is not likely that we should agree in all things with a book written for such a purpose at such a time. Neither can we at all consider *the Admonition*, to be an authorized exposition or apology by the whole order of which he was a member.* Indeed, the book in no way claims to be other than it really was, a private answer (apparently not by a public man, or one in power) to the Marprelate libels.

If then, in short, an over-charitable reader is

* The indefatigable Strype, who had seen, and (unlike some other historians) had examined, it is evident, several of the Marprelate Tracts, gives us a long account of this book of Bishop Cooper's. And he supposes, but not on satisfactory grounds, that not only the Archbishop himself was a joint-author of it, but that the several vindications were drawn up by the Bishops, and the whole work overseen and approved by them. I, nevertheless, would rather hold to my opinion expressed above, and believe that Cooper spoke only from his own knowledge, having unquestionably had many opportunities of hearing these slanders contradicted. When matters of doctrine are involved we should always give suspected parties the benefit of a doubt.—*Vide* Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, pp. 300, 304.

not astonished to find unqualified praises of the reformed discipline and faith of the English Church,* or broad statements such as, p. 10, that 'God alwaies hath appointed godlie men to be teachers and reuiuers of his trueth, as *Abraham* with the other Patriarchs, *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Dauid*, the *Prophets*, the *Apostles*:' adding in one lump, 'in our dayes, *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Œcolampadius*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Jewel*,' &c.; and styling them all, 'godly captaines to gouerne his Church, and to set foorth his word;'—if, again, he should not think it unnatural to call Rome 'Antichrist,' and suppose that the five centuries preceding the sixteenth had

* In the same sweeping style with Dr. Whitgift in the beginning of his *Defence* against Cartwright. Not content with asserting that 'all poyntes of Religion necessarie to saluation, and touching eyther the mysterie of our redemption in Christ, or the right vse of the Sacraments, and true manner of worshipping God, are as purely and perfectly taught and by publike authoritie established in this Church of England at this day, as euer they were in any church sithence the Apostles time,' he demands, 'who can not see, who will not confesse, that *all* Heresies, *all* corrupt doctrines, *all* superstitious and Papisticall opinions, haue beene, and be by the Prince and the Realme banished, by the learned Byshops and preachers in word and in writing confuted?' *Preface to the Godly Reader*, p. 1. This was not arguing, but begging the question, and deciding the dispute.

been 'dark,' echoing the common cry of a general decay of learning during them, and of the knowledge of Holy Scripture; then I believe that such a reader of the whole volume, and such only, (making that reasonable allowance in other matters for Bishop Cooper which, under the circumstances of his position, it would not be improper to do) will find but little cause to differ from Lord Bacon, who thus spoke of it: 'I do much admire the wisdom 'and religion of that bishop, who replied to the first 'pamphlet of this kind, who remembered that a fool 'was to be answered, but not by becoming like 'unto him; and considered the matter which he 'handled, and not the person with whom he dealt.' —*Adv. on Ch. Controvers. Works*, vol. ii. p. 503.

It failed entirely of its object.

Such, nevertheless, was not the spirit in which the *Admonition* was received, nor, as we shall hereafter see, were a soberness of reasoning and an appeal to the good feelings of the people, the weapons by which Martin was to be opposed. The same inspired writer who forbids us, under some circumstances, to answer a fool according to his folly, immediately adds the command, that under other circumstances, we must 'answer a fool accord-'ing to his folly, *lest he be wise in his own conceit.*'

The Puritans were not fools as regarded mere learning, and knew well enough long ago the common arguments which the Bishop offered in reply: the object was not to convince the Martin Marprelates themselves, but the ignorant and silly people who read their books: and where one bought and read the solemn and apologetic *Admonition*, scores eagerly purchased and believed the scurrilous tales and assertions of the *Epistle* and *Epitome*.

Hay any worke.

Scarcely had the Bishop's book issued from the press, before it was replied to by '*Hay any worke for Cooper*.' The dedication, or rather inscription of this is, 'A man of worshipp, to the men of 'worship, that is, Martin Marprelate, gentleman, 'primate, and metropolitane of all the Martins 'whersoeuer. To the John of al the Sir Johns, 'and to the rest of the terrible priests: saith haue 'among you once againe my cleargie masters.' Martin Marprelate had gained, at least, one of the ends which he had proposed; his libel, wicked and abominable as it was, had drawn forth an earnest remonstrance from one of the Bishops of the Church. Returning to the passage just before quoted, Lord Bacon in it seems to suppose, that an Admonition was not only the proper style of re-

buke, but that it was not also either improper or impolitic to reply at all. This, however, was exactly the sort of notice which Martin required; he therefore could not contain his joy. Like many other lying pamphlets his, probably, would have been confined to a smaller circle of readers, perhaps scarcely beyond the Puritans themselves, if they had been let alone. Such, at any rate, would be a fair way of reasoning under common circumstances, in common times. But if it was a mistake to bring them into further notoriety by civil penalties laid upon the purchasers of them, by seizing the printers, and demolishing their presses, surely much more would it seem to have been a blunder that the Bishop of Winchester should address a sober admonition to the people of England upon the subject, which (at the time certainly) could not escape the being looked upon, as an authorized apology of the dignified clergy and the bench of Bishops.

Martin rejoiced that the Bishop had answered him.

So the first address of Martin Marprelate to 'his brethren,' the Bishops is; 'O brethren, there 'is such a deal of love growne of late, I perceive 'betweene you and me, that although I would be 'negligent in sending my Pistiles unto you; yet I 'see you cannot forget me. I thought you to bee 'verye kinde when you sent your purcivaunts about

'the countrie to seeke for me. But now that you 'yourselues haue taken the paines to write, this is 'out of all crie. Why it passes to thinke what 'louing and carefull brethren I haue, who although 'I cannot be gotten to tell them where I am, will 'notwithstanding, make it known unto the world, 'that they haue a moneths mind towards me. Now, 'truly brethren, I find you kinde, why ye do not 'know what a pleasure you haue done me. My 'worships books were unknowne to many, before 'you allowed T. C. to admonishe the people of 'England to take heed, that if they loued you, they 'would make much of their prelates, and the chiefe 'of the cleargie. Now many seeke after my bookes 'more than euer they did.' I am not inclined to think that Martin here expresses himself beyond the truth.

Another ill result of the "Admonition."

And another very serious evil followed the publication of Cooper's *Admonition*. It not only spread abroad the fame of his opponent, and appealed to the people to judge the truth of his tales and arguments; but, as the author of '*Hay any Worke*' was sharp enough to see and to mention, 'Whatso-'euer you ouerpasse in my writings, and did not 'gainsay, that I hope wilbe iudged to be true. And 'so John a Bridges his treason out of the 448. page

'of his booke, you graunt to be true. Your selues 'you denie not to bee pettie popes. The B. of Sir 'Dauids in Wales, you denie not to haue two wiues, 'with an hundred other thinges which you do not 'gainsay: so that the reader may iudge that I am 'true of my worde, and vse not to lye like Bb. And 'this hath greatly commended my worshipps good 'dealing.' P. 2.

As I before said, Bishop Cooper did not attach his name to the *Admonition*. The initials *T. C.** were alone given, at the end of his short preface to the reader. Very probably there was no secrecy about the matter, and common rumour, at the time uncontradicted, gave it to its real author. The author of '*Hay any Worke*' appeals to internal evidence, and his inferences are amusingly expressed. 'I gesse your T. C. to be Thomas Coo- 'per (but I do not peremptorily affirme it) because 'the modest olde student of 52 yeres standing, set- 'teth Winchester after Lincolne and Rochester in 'the contents of his booke, which blasphemy would 'not have been tollerated by them that saw and

Martin guesses at its author.

* The reader must be careful not to confound this *T. C.*, Bishop of Winchester, with *the* T. C., Thomas Cartwright, who by a prerogative of dignity, familiar to the students of Hooker, has monopolized these notorious initials.

'allowed the book, unlesse mistres Coopers husband 'had bin the author of it. Secondly, because this 'T. C., the author of this booke is a bishop, and 'therefore Thomas Cooper, he is a bishop, because 'he reckoneth him selfe charged, amongst others, 'with those crimes whereof non are accused but 'bishops alone. Ha olde Martin, yet I see thou 'hast it in thee, thou wilt enter into the bowels of 'the cause in hand I perceve. Nay, if you wil com-'mend me, I will give you more reasons yet. The 'stile and the phrase is very like her husbands, that 'was sometimes woont to write vnto Doctor Day of 'Welles.* You see I can do it indeed. Again, 'non would be so groshead as to gather, because 'my reuerence telleth Deane John, that he shall 'haue twenty fists about his eares more than his 'owne,—that I threatened him with blowes, and to 'deal by stafford law; whereas that was far from

* Thomas Day, canon of Ch. Ch. sometime fellow of All Souls Coll. There was a libel put forth about this time by Th. Bulkley (also fellow of All Souls) which tells us that a certain person did so much frequent the company of Mistress Cooper, that at length he was bound in a bond of £100 not to come near her. Wood's Athenæ, 1. 610. Dr. Bliss has given some stanzas from this production of Bulkley's in a note to his edition of Wood: they are not, as he observes, "over-decent."

'my meaning, and could by no means be gathered 'out of my words, but only by him that pronounced '*Eulojin*, for *Eulogein*, in the pulpit: and by him 'whom a papist made to beleeve that the Greek 'word *Eulogein*, that is, to give thanks, signifieth 'to make a crosse in the forhead; py hy hy hy! 'I cannot but laugh, py hy hy hy! I cannot but 'laugh to thinke that an olde soaking student in 'this learned age is not ashamed to be so impudent 'as to presume to deale with a papist, when he hath 'no grue in his pocked.'—Pp. 3, and reverse.

Story of the Morrice Dancers.

I would quote a story which Martin tells the Bishop, not on account of either wit, or importance, but as illustrating points which those who have examined the Visitation Articles of Inquiry in Queen Elizabeth's time, are doubtless familiar with. For example, the 27th Article of the Enquiries by William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln in 1585, is, 'Whether your Minister and Church-wardens haue 'suffred any Lords of misrule or sommer Lords, or 'Ladies or any disguised person in Christmas, or 'at maigames, or morris dancers or at any other 'time, to come vnreuerently into the Churchyard, 'and there to daunce or play any vnsemely part 'with scoffs, iests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, 'namely in the time of common praier: and what

'they be that commit such disorder, or accompany 'or maintaine them.'* Martin Marprelate says, 'There is a neighbour of ours, an honest priest, who 'was sometimes (symple as he nowe standes) a vice 'in a playe for want of a better, his name is Glibe-'rie of Hawsteade in Essex, he goes much to the 'pulpit. On a time, I think it was the last Maie, 'he went up with a full resolution, to do his busi-'nesse with great commendations. But see the 'fortune of it. A boy in the Church, hearing either 'the sommer Lord with his Maie game, or Robin 'Hood with his Morrice daunce going by the 'Church, out goes the boye. Good Gliberie, though 'he were in the pulpit, yet had a minde to his olde 'companions abroad, (a company of merrie grigs 'you must think them to be, as merie as a vice on 'a stage) seeing y^e^ boy going out, finished his 'matter presently with John of Londons Amen, 'saying, ha, ye faith boie, are they there, then ha 'w^t^ thee, & so came down & among them hee 'goes.' *P.* 3. It does not appear from the Bishops Enquiry and consequent Injunction, that these

* Articles to be enquired of by the Church-wardens and Sworn-men within the Dieocsse (*sic*) of Lincoln, &c. 1585. Imprinted at London by Iohn Windet, 1585. 4*to*. In my possession.

games were forbidden except 'in the time of common praier.'

Puritan hatred of Episcopacy.

But from this, we now pass on to the picture displayed in this pamphlet of the utter hatred which was felt by the Puritans, against the divine order of the Episcopacy. The known leaders of that heretical faction restrained, or were aware that as much as they could, they *must* restrain their language: I am speaking of their avowed publications. It is, then, from their anonymous works that we are enabled to discover what their objects were, and the full extent to which their opinions went upon doctrines and rites of the Church of God, which have been held from the earliest age, the Apostolic, to be essential, not simply to her efficacy and well-being, but to her very existence, and to the validity of her sacraments.

Now, let us hear 'reverend Martin.' 'Doe you 'thinke our Churche gouernement to be good and 'lawfull, because hir Maiestie and the state, who 'maintaine the reformed religion, alloweth the 'same? Why the Lorde doth not allow it, there-'fore it cannot be lawfull. And it is the falt of 'such wretches as you bishops are, that her Ma-'iestie and the state alloweth the same.'—P. 4. Again: 'But our archbishops and bishops, which

'hold it lawfull for her Maiestie and the state, to 'retain this established forme of gouernment, and 'to keepe out the gouernment by pastors, doctors, 'elders, and deacons, which was appointed by 'Christ,—hold it lawful for her Maiestie and the 'state to bid God to battel against them.—There-'fore you T. C., and you Deane John, and you 'John Whitgift, and you the rest of the beastly 'defenders of the corrupt church gouernment, are 'not only traytors to God and his word, but enemies 'to God and the state. Like you any of these nuts 'John Canterbury? I am not disposed to iest in 'this serious matter.'—P. 24. And once more, passing by an overflow of 'wretches,' 'grosse beasts,' and such epithets, Martin at last, by impiously perverting an argument of the Dean of Sarum, arrives at this: 'Now you bishops of the diuell, what say 'you now, are you spighted of the Puritans, because 'you, like good subiectes, defend the lawes of her 'Maiestie, or els because, like incarnate diuells, 'you are bishops of the diuells.—P. 28.

It is not without much hesitation that I have brought myself to quote these passages: after all, they are not the worst, neither are they more than a few out of many such: and my purpose is to represent these productions of the Elizabethan Puri-

tans as indeed they are, and not allow my readers unwarned, to suppose them to be merely witty, though perhaps scandalous, squibs of the day. If any one says that they are but repetitions in coarser language, of still earlier Puritan and Nonconforming objections upon the great question of Episcopacy, and that an apology is unnecessary, I am not disposed to quarrel with him—'there is nothing new under the sun.'

Martin excuses himself to his own party.

But another point or two remains before I can dismiss this '*Hay any Worke*.' Martin confesses, or pretends to confess, that his style and manner of addressing those who were in authority had been misliked by some even of his own party: alluding, that is, to Cartwright, Travers, and others among the chief Puritans.

He says, 'I am called Martin Marprelat. There 'be many that greatly dislike of my doinges. I may 'have my wants, I know. For I am a man. But 'my course I knowe to be ordinary and lawfull. I 'sawe the cause of Christ's gouernment, and of the 'bishops' antichristian dealing to be hidden. I 'tooke that course. I might lawfully do it. I,* 'for iesting is lawful by circumstances, euen in the 'greatest matters.—My purpose was and is to do

* i.e. Aye.

'good. I know I haue don no harme, howsoeuer 'som may iudg Martin to mar al. They are very 'weake ons that so think. In that which I haue 'written I know, vndoubtedly, that I haue done the 'Lord and the state of this kingdom great service.' (I hope it is no profaneness to quote a parallel almost contemporary with the humble Puritan—

'Soft you; a word or two, before you go.
I have done the state some service, and they know it;
No more of that:'—

so to return.) 'Because I haue, in som sort, dis-'couered the greatest enemies thereof. And by so 'much the most pestilent enemies, because they 'wound God's religion, and corrupt the state with 'Atheism and loosnes, and so cal for God's ven-'geance vppon vs all, euen under the coulor of re-'ligion.'—Pp. 14, 15.

And a few pages after more plainly; 'I knowe I 'am disliked of many which are your enemies, that 'is of many which you cal Puritans. I am alone. 'No man vnder heauen is priuy, or hath bin priuy 'vnto my writings against you. I vsed the aduise 'of non therein. You haue and do suspect diuers,' &c.—Pp. 20, 21.

Now I do not think that this dislike arose among the more notorious of his own party, until it was

produced by fear that their experiment was about to fail—that it had overreached the mark, and had disgusted men, rather than was likely to effect the object which the Puritans had in view. It would not be difficult to point out in the avowed publications of Travers and Cartwright, in the little controversial tracts, for example, upon the question of the habits, in the 'Counterpoyson,' &c., many passages which, with less violence of language, and less expressed profaneness, breathe the same virulent spirit, and hatred of the ordinances of the Church of God. That these pamphlets of Martin Marprelate were, indeed, disapproved of by the faction who made use of him, we require other witness than himself only before we give it credit; and I do not remember, that any such disapproval was plainly expressed *at the time* by the Puritan leaders. It is not enough that they should disclaim him *after*, before the council-board, with the terrors in the distance of the Tower and the rack, or before the court of High-Commission: it is not enough that Neal, their professed historian in after years and their apologist, should speak of Martin in terms of reprobation, and (which proves either his utter ignorance, or wilful lying) class him and his opponents in the same style, as equally obnoxious to the members of the government.

His tracts not really disapproved by them.

Even Martin himself, in a later publication, to which we shall come presently, speaks again merely in such language as this; addressing the 'Puritans': 'The report goeth, that some of you have preached 'against me.' *The report goeth:* very cautious this; to be used hereafter in two ways. In short, it may easily be downright asserted, but it cannot be proved, that the Marprelate pamphlets were not an experiment which the Puritan leaders, Cartwright and Travers and the rest, were willing enough to try. Doubtless, being wise in their own generation, when they fancied it about to fail, they neglected not the providing some ground to retreat upon, by a timely disconnecting of it with themselves. If it *should* succeed (which was not unhoped for when '*Hay any Worke*' was published), there would be no difficulty in substantiating their claim to this honour among others, that *Martin Marprelate* had been their doing, that his tracts had been a part of their 'godly work,' a stepping-stone to the obtaining their 'holy discipline:'—if, again, it should *not* succeed, disclaimers, such as I have quoted above, would be an easy blind in the eyes of the silly multitude, and it would be far from easy to bring home to them their cognizance of the authors, or their recommendation of such an attempt.

But it was wise to make it seem so.

After one more passage, illustrating Martin's style and reasoning, I shall pass on to another of the series.

'Our churche gouernment is an vnlawfull go-
'uernment, and not allowed in the sight of God.
'Because, that church gouernment is an vnlawfull
'church gouernment, the offices and officers whereof
'the civil maiestrate may lawfully abollish out of
'the church; but the offices of archbishops and
'bishopps, and therefore the officers much more,
'may be lawfully abollished out of the church by
'her Maiestie and our state. And truely this were
'braue weather to turne them out: it is pitty to
'keepe them in any longer. And that would do
'me good at the heart, to see John of London, and
'the rest of his brethren, so discharged of his busi-
'nes, as he might freely runn in his cassocke and
'hose after his bowle, or florish with his 2-hand
'sword. O 'tis a sweet trunchfiddle. But the offices
'of archbishops and bishops may be lawfully abol-
'lished out of the church by her Maiestie and the
'state. As I hope one day they shalbe. There-
'fore (marke now T. C., and cary me this conclu-
'sion to John O Lambehith for his breakefast) our
'church gouernment, by Arch. and bishops, is an
'vnlawful church gouernment. You see, brother

'Cooper, that I am very courteous in my minor, 'for I desire therein no more offices to bee thrust 'out of the church at one time, but Archb. and 'Bishops. As for Deanes, Archdeacons, and Chan- 'cellors, I hope they will be so kind vnto my Lord's 'grace, as not to stay, if his worship and the rest 'of the noble clergie Lords weare turned out to 'grasse. I will presently proue both maior and 'minor of this sillogisme. And hold my cloake 'there somebody, that I may go roundly to worke. 'For Ise so bumfeg the Cooper, as he had bin 'better to haue hooped halfe the tubbes in Win- 'chester, then write against my worship's pistles.' —Hay any Worke, pp. 5, 6.

CHAPTER IV.

THE controversy thus proceeding in full vigour, its chain of attack and defence is so connected link upon link, that (though they run not exactly link *for* link, now one added upon this side, and now another upon that,) we must pass on to our next book, led by a passage in the last.

Martin says, '*Hay any Worke*,' p. 21, 'I am 'alone. No man vnder heauen is priuy, or hath 'bin priuie vnto my writings against you; I vsed 'the aduise of non therein. You haue and do sus-'pect diuers, as master Paggett, master Wigging-'ton, master Udale, and master Penri, &c., to make 'Martin. If they cannot cleare their selues their 'sillinesse is pitifull, and they are worthy to beare 'Martin's punishment.' Upon this disclaimer of authorship, I need say no more than I already have; and, indeed, those observations would apply with even greater force in the present case.

Some account

Of the four persons above named, Penry now

claims our notice. He was by birth a Welshman, afterwards a member of the University of Oxford, and about the year 1586 admitted into holy orders. Anthony à Wood's account of him is, that being 'a 'person full of Welsh blood, of a hot and restless 'head, he did, upon some discontent, change the 'course of his life, and became a most notorious 'Anabaptist, and in some sort a Brownist, and 'most bitter enemy to the Church of England.'* Hence he was very fit for, and soon became, a tool in the hands of wiser men. The Marprelate tracts were, at the time of their publication, immediately attributed to him as one of the authors: a warrant was issued for his apprehension, together with some others, and he was taken, and his house and study searched for some proof against him. We must not overlook this, that no evidence was found; and also that Penry himself at the time, (which I cannot give much weight to,) and always after, even when about to die, (when one is rather inclined to believe

of Penry.

* Bancroft says of him, 'Marie now, two or three yeeres 'studie is as good as twentie. It is wonderfull to see, how 'some men get perfection. One of fower or five and twentie 'yeeres old, if you anger him, will sweare he knoweth more 'then all the ancient fathers.' Sermon at Paul's Cross, p. 57.

that he would speak the truth,) denied that he had been concerned in the writing of those tracts.

If I was disposed to adopt Martin's own line of reasoning I should decide that he was mixed up with them, more especially from his being named the last among 'the goodly company' in the extract given above. It is curious, certainly, that, of all the anonymous tracts, '*Hay any Worke*' has been the most constantly attributed to Penry. However, there being then no sufficient evidence against him, after a short imprisonment of a month, he was discharged.

As soon as he was at liberty, to use his own language, 'I saw myselfe bound in conscience not to 'giue ouer my former purpose, in seeking the good 'of my countrymen, by the rooting out of ignorance 'and blindness among them.'—P. 5. Here he alludes, not to the Marprelate tracts, but to two former books of his, about the state of religion in Wales. His conscience obliged him then to continue writing.

Severity used in those days towards political offenders.

We all know that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth much harshness was used towards political offenders. (I suppose it is scarcely necessary to remark, that Penry and his fellows would, and justly, be looked upon as of that class.) They were generally de-

prived not merely of liberty, but even of opportunities of communicating with their friends, and of the means of correspondence : not seldom also, greater violence and torture were resorted to. The extent to which this last way of arriving at confessions had been carried a few years before, more especially in the cases of the seminary priests, had reached so far that the Queen had interfered and checked it; and a sort of authorized apology was put forth by the council, entitled ' A Declaration of the favour-' able dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners ap-' pointed for the Examination of certaine Traitours, ' and of tortures vnjustly reported to be done vpon ' them for matters of religion, 1583.' (4to. reprinted in the Harl. Miscell.) Burleigh himself also found it was necessary to write a like excuse, which he called ' The Execution of Justice in Eng-' land, for maintenaunce of publique and Christian ' peace, against certeine stirrers of Sedition, &c. ' without any PERSECVTION of them for ques-' tions of Religion, as is falsely reported and pub-' lished by the fautors and fosterers of their trea-' sons.' 4to. 1583. Printed also in Holinshed, p. 1358.

It does not appear, however, that Penry was treated with even the usual severity of the day, but

Penry's Appellation.

immediately upon his release he published his '*Appellation to the High Court of Parliament.*' (No. 5.) Little less violent or coarse in language, and as bitter in its spirit as the *Epitome* or the *Epistle*, or the answer to Bishop Cooper, its author could not possibly suppose that any personal benefit would be the consequence: (in fact, he was included in the next warrant from the High Commission Court, which for a time he escaped:) and we must say of him, a kind of praise common to many of his party, that he was both stubborn under correction and insensible to kindness.

He claims to be a Divine instrument.

Neither was he at all wanting in that self-sufficiency, so frequent among fanatics, which leads men to suppose that God certainly approves their doings. Penry claims to be an especial instrument employed by Him. 'You are to understand,' he says, 'that 'the beginning of these mens hatred towards me 'did arise from the goodwill I beare vnto the glory 'of my God, and the good of his church, and that 'the continuance thereof is for the same cause. 'For vntill such time as the Lorde vouchsafed to 'vse me (most unworthie, I acknowledge from the 'bottom of my heart) as an instrument to motion 'the parliament in the cause of God's truth, I was a 'man altogether vnknowne vnto th' Archb. or any

'other of the high commission.'—P. 3. He boasts that 'the Lord, of his infinite goodnes, had en-'lightened him with the knowledge of the sauing 'trueth of his gospell.'—P. 2. And he does not stick at comparing himself and his condition with St. Paul, and the Prophet Jeremiah, and their sufferings, calling upon the parliament to judge his cause, as Festus listened to St. Paul.

Speaks ill of the Bishops,

One would have thought that experience had taught him moderation; but a side-note (p. 11) tells us, 'It is no new thing to find the supposed 'pillers of the church to be the most pestilent ene-'mies thereof.' And again he says, 'I am bounde 'in conscience to lay open, that the blindnes and 'ignorance of our blind and ignorant guides, the 'tiranny, vnlawful bondage, and vnjust oppression 'of God's church by vngodly and tiranical Lord 'Bishops, with the rest of th' vnlawful church go-'uernoures, (who, euen by vertue of their places, 'cannot chuse but oppresse the church of God,) 'are the ready and direct waie, not only to kepe 'my countrimen from eternal life, but also to bringe 'the Lord's wrath vppon vs, our prince, maiestrats, 'people, and the whole kingdome.'—P. 16. And once more, those to whom he is himself now appealing, he accuses of 'careles and wilfull negligence

and accuses the Parliament.

'to deal in the Lord's matters.' P. 34. Very probably the parliament had been negligent, as he esteemed it. It was no concern of parliament; and it would have been well if its members had always kept within their proper limits, and from interference with the government and practice of the Church of God. These, no less than the doctrines of the Church, are beyond both its power of controlling, and capability of correctly judging. I need hardly add that in saying this I do not forget its vaunted claim to omnipotence; but *power* is not *right*. The parliament of England, as its parliament alone, acting upon its own judgment only, has never meddled with the Church without weakening her powers, and lessening her efficiency, and injuring her reputation. And if this is true, as most unquestionably it is true, of parliaments which professed at least to be Christian, how much more now, when this profession has ceased to be a necessary qualification of its members.

His observation on the High Commission.

Penry, however, does not forget in his *Appellation* to press a point, which, under the strong hand of Elizabeth, and her vigilant eye, and jealousy of her prerogative, the parliament would not then dare to listen to; viz. this, (speaking of the powers exercised under the High Commission,) 'Judge

'whether it be not against all right, that some fewe 'of the inferiour members in that house (of which 'number, in respect of manye, I might justly ac-'count the men before named) should extort vnto 'their privat censure, the judgement of a cause pre-'ferred publikely vnto the whole parliament. The 'time hath beene, wherein this high courte woulde 'not haue taken a meaner injurie offered vnto their 'liberties, at the handes of anye prerogative within 'this kingdome: whether it stands not with the 'honor and credit of parliament men, amongst pos-'terities, not to haue their liberties thus infringed 'and diminished by inferior and baser courts; it 'behoues them that loue their countrie, and ende-'uor to maintaine the welth thereof, to consider.'— P. 41. Here was a little leaven of sedition thrown into the mass to work its silent way: here was one spark, which, mouldering, was not extinguished, and mouldered on, until more fuel and more fire were gradually given, and at last this question of prerogative was sufficient to set the kingdom in a blaze.

The oath *ex officio*.

I am not in the least disposed to enter into an argument in behalf of the oath *ex officio*, although much possibly might be said for it; and men now are scarcely sufficient judges how far in former times such means were necessary to extort the truth,

for the preservation of the public peace against the malice of the disaffected; yet it was not according to our modern ideas of justice, and at the time was spoken of as a measure only of absolute necessity.

Archbishop Whitgift in a paper which he sent to the Lord Treasurer upon this subject, among other reasons for continuing the oath, argues 'If it bee 'sayd, that it is against law, reason, and charitee, 'for a man to accuse himself, *quia nemo tenetur 'seipsum prodere, aut propriam turpitudinem 'revelare*, I aunswere, that by law, charitee, and 'reason, *Proditus per denuntiationem alterius, 'sive per famam, tenetur seipsum ostendere, ad 'evitandum scandalum, et seipsum purgandum. 'Præterea, Prælatus potest inquirere sine præ-'via fama; a fortiori ergo, Delegati per Princi-'pem possunt. Ad hæc, in istis articulis turpi-'tudo non inquiritur aut flagitium, sed excessus 'et errata Clericorum circa publicam functionem 'ministerii, de quibus Ordinario rationem reddere 'coguntur.'* The Archbishop sent also at the same time, a paper representing the inconveniences of not proceeding *ex officio mero*. I would refer my reader to these important papers.†

* Strype, Life of Whitgift, 1. 319.

† And also to a paper in the Appendix, Book iv. No. 2.

One thing cannot be denied, that this method did effect in a great degree the object which it aimed at, and was no less a terror to the Puritans than a very successful means of discomfiting their plans, by arriving at a knowledge of their secrets. I shall quote, therefore, Penry's account of the manner of administering this oath: he says, 'All the justice 'that poore Christians haue at Lambeth is this. 'You are now sent for by Lords grace here, and 'vs her Majestie's Commissioners; we grant, in 'deed, that as yet we know nothing wherewith you 'may be charged. For accusers you haue none, 'neither were you sent for to answere vnto them. 'For it is our maner to deliver men into bonds, 'though they haue no accusers to conuince them 'of any crime. And therefore you must here be 'deposed vpon your oath, to reveal whatsoeuer you 'know by yourselfe, or any other of Gods children 'her Majesties subjects. Whereby it shall come 'to pass, that you shall escape vs narrowly, but 'ere you depart the court, we shall finde sufficient 'matter to imprison you: and if you refuse the 'oath, to prison you shall goe. For we administer 'it *ex officio*, and so, vpon your refusal, we may 'imprison you.'—P. 46.

Penry's account of it.

Undoubtedly Master Penry had experienced the

putting of this oath; he may be thought, therefore, to be a good witness against it: and so, indeed, he was in words; but the fact was clear that he had evaded it in some way or other, and had been set at large by the Commissioners.

But a word or two more about this ancient (so called) engine of ecclesiastical tyranny, the oath *ex officio*. Its important bearing upon our present subject, and upon the general history of part of the 16th and 17th centuries, both in civil and religious matters, will be, it is to be hoped, a sufficient excuse.

Puritan objections against it, not to be listened to,

I do not think that we must listen to objections from the Elizabethan Puritans in the same temper as we would to other men's; neither can we allow them to have the same weight. Here were people making a great grievance of this oath; refusing it stiffly, and with unseemly language, when it was likely to effect the object proposed. Loudly protesting also against it as an infringement, not merely of their civil, but of their Christian liberty, and enlisting upon their side, as being cruelly persecuted by it, all who, from whatever motive, were opposed to the government of the day. And what was *their own practice?* It is very true that legally they could not administer any oath; but they came as near

because overruled by themselves.

to it as possibly they could, by subjecting every one who was of their party to the solemn scrutiny of their consistories, and obliging him, upon any suspicion, to give an account of his private opinions, and so accuse himself.

They had enacted a plain law (the 52d. Article of their '*Discipline Reformed*,') upon this point: 'That every member of the congregation do not 'refuse to render a declaration of their faith, before 'the ministers and elders, whensoever they shall by 'them be thereunto required.' Their great exemplar, the heretic Calvin, made use of the actual oath *ex officio* in his consistory at Geneva. (Calvin. Epist. 71. *Farello.*) More than this: there was but one Court of High Commission in England which had the power of administering the oath. If the Puritans had gained their end, each parish in the country would have had a little set of arbitrary judges, ready to listen to any trivial complaint, eager to find a cause of intermeddling with every man's affairs, and too glad of so ready a means of gratifying their malice. They were even bound, upon their own theory, to find out causes for bringing men before them. Cartwright, in his 'Defence 'of the Admonition,' says, 'The Elders watch over 'the life and behaviour of every man; and to them

'belongs the decision of all such matters as do rise 'in the Church, either touching corrupt manners 'or perverse doctrine.' There was to be no difficulty in indulging any of their whims: no check upon partiality or prejudice; and no provision made against personal dislike having its full swing. These were safeguards which the Puritan Nonconformists utterly despised; they were to be accusers, witnesses, and judges: they were to complain, and to determine according to their own pleasure, and their own caprice. And these are the men who sought for compassion and found it, when the oath *ex officio* was duly administered by a proper authority to themselves.

Bancroft in his *Dangerous Positions* gives us from the mouth of one of themselves, a specimen of what such enquiries ended in; that at one course of censuring which they had, 'there was such rip-'ping up, one of anothers life, even from their 'youth, as that they came unto great bitterness, 'with many reviling termes amongst themselves, one 'growing thereby odious to another, and some did 'thereupon utterly forsake those kinde of assem-'blies.'* Bancroft quotes as his authority *Johnson before the Commissioners*. One of the tracts in

* Daungerous Positions, p. 88.

the *Parte of a Register* is his examination: but no such statement is in that: very probably he was cited more than once: or, as given in that work, the report of his examination is not altogether to be depended upon as correct.*

A little less than a year before this, Dr. Robert Dr. Some.

* A paper drawn up by Archbishop Whitgift contains a summary of Puritan objections, which common justice requires should be given, and let them, by all means, have their due weight. 'Divers of them,' he says, 'being detected of the premises, and required to make answer upon their oaths, do all peremptorily refuse to do so: using very frivolous and childish cavils: as, that it is not according to the law: and if it be, such law is against conscience and Gods word. That being Ministers, they should not be accused under two or three witnesses. That the deputy said, he would hear Paul when his accusers came. That they are not bound to accuse themselves. That they may not bring their brethren into trouble. That they may not be accusers of others. That in so doing, they should violate the laws of friendship. That the most, whom they should discover, are altogether known to the Commissioners: so that their oath need not. The example of Rahab, that would not reveal the spies unto the king: of the midwives, that did not as the king of Egypt commanded them: of Jonathan, that being commanded of the king, would not kill David, but bade him take heed: of the king's servants, that would not kill the priests, though the king commanded it: of Obadiah, that hid an hundred of the priests in caves, to save them from Jezebel, that would have killed them. And such other like, of no moment.' *Life of Whitgift*, 2. 19.

Some had written a book against Penry, which he called '*A godly Treatise containing and deciding* '*certaine questions, mooued of late in London,* '*and other places, touching the Ministerie, Sa-* '*craments, and Church.*' (4to.) To this, '*M.* '*Some laid open in his coulers, &c.*' (No. 7) was intended to be an answer.

Answered by Penry.

The University of Oxford during the first twenty or thirty years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had been remarkable for the strong leaning which it displayed towards the Puritan view of the religious questions of the day. Very much of this was owing to the prominent stations which two of the returned exiles held among her Heads of Houses. Sampson, Dean of Christchurch, and Humphrey, President of Magdalen, had gone abroad, at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, with deep-rooted prejudices against the ecclesiastical vestments and Church-government of the day, had been conspicuous at Frankfort and Zurich in their opposition to the continued observance of ancient customs, and after their return, shewed sufficient honesty of purpose, still to refuse obedience as much as possible. The example of such men would operate very strongly, not only whilst they were permitted, unreproved, to hold their high offices in the university, but for years afterwards, when one had been

Oxford inclined to Puritanism at that time.

ejected from his deanery, and the other from his professorship. Other causes also would naturally contribute to the influence of Puritan opinions in the university, and some ten years or so were even yet to pass away, before such men as Laud were to arise, and bear witness to the truth. It is all we have to boast of, in speaking of Oxford at this time, and a poor boast (after all) it may be, that the sister-university of Cambridge was even less orthodox, and Catholic in her views. Even at this, the most gloomy period of her history, Oxford still stood, though backward, yet the first, and a spirit existed within her, a memory of better times, which when it had room at last for action, soon restored her old character; and whilst, for generations after, Cambridge was the stronghold of Puritanism and its vices, Oxford was again conspicuous for obedience to constituted authority, and unhesitating devotion to the holy offices and government and worship of the Church of England.

We must not be surprised to find then, that this answer was by an 'Oxford man,' as if a taking title. Who he was, cannot now be ascertained: probably (as Wood supposed) Penry himself. Dr. Some also seems to have thought so, in a book which he published some time afterwards, in reply.

However this may be, the volume made its ap-

pearance very soon after the *Appellation*. It is long, and sufficiently dull. Hooker's name occurs in it, in connexion with Dr. Some's. The 'Oxford 'man' denies that a papist can be saved: he says, 'We hold, that to him that dieth a papist (let him 'do neuer so many good workes, and builde, if it 'were possible, ten thousand colledges or churches) 'the verie gates and porteculleses of Gods mercie 'are quite shutt vp, and all those his glorious works, 'how sweet soeuer they may be to others, shall be 'but wrack and misery to himself. And in this 'point if either *M. Hooker*, *M. Some*, or all the 'reuerend Bb. of the land doe stand against vs, it 'shall little dismaie vs.' (P. 29.) There is nothing in it which requires any further account of this reply to Dr. Some.

The Marprelate tracts prohibited by the Council.

The advisers of Queen Elizabeth were always in those dangerous days too much upon their guard, to suffer such publications as the tracts of Martin Marprelate to pass unnoticed. Looking at them as we do, after a long period of time, it is a matter of extreme doubt still, in what way they ought to have been received: whether they should have been left unregarded, in silent contempt. Those who were then in authority could not overlook the sedition and treason against the state which they contained,

even if many who sat at the same council-table cared nothing for their more open attacks upon the Church.

Some members of it favour them.

It has been always known that some of the most influential persons about the Queen were inclined to the Puritan party; and Lord Leicester generally pretended to be so: it was his game to play: when abroad he had tried to hide his incapacity by spending half his time with the schismatic preachers who were followers of the camp, joining in their praying exercises, and patiently listening to their three hours' sermons. No less so were others of a sterner cast; and some who were mere courtiers and parasites of the day.

Nor is this to be wondered at; for, independent of deeper motives by which a few were influenced, up to a certain point the love of being amused was quite sufficient to make Martin popular at court. He says himself, (*Epitome*, p. 2,) 'I haue been 'entertayned at the court: euerye man talkes of 'my worship. Manye would gladly receiue my 'bookes, if they coulde tell where to finde them.' So I think myself obliged, by the way, to quote the old anecdote of Lord Essex. 'When a prohi-'bition issued that no person should carry about 'them any of the Marprelate pamphlets on pain of

'punishment, the Earl of Essex observed to the 'Queen, "What, then, is to become of me?" 'drawing one of them out of his bosom and pre- 'senting it to her.'

But the treason in them could not be overlooked.

But neither the leaning of any of its members towards Puritanism, nor the idle amusement which such publications were likely to supply, could blind the eyes of the Council, as a body, to the very dangerous consequences which in all human probability were sure to follow. Such men as Burleigh could not forget, much as he might wish to do so, and much as he might regret the intemperateness of the writers, such men, I say, could not forget that the designs of the party whose organ Martin Marprelate was, had been disclosed by themselves. They could not forget that the great leader, Thomas Cartwright, had been the first to subscribe a book, *The Holy Discipline of the Church*, of which Travers was the chief author, in which all who did so subscribe bound themselves to advance by 'all lawful and convenient means,' (the common language in such cases, and language well understood) that Discipline. Such men could not forget that the Puritans had declared that 'if every hair of 'their heads were a several term of their lives, they 'ought to spend them in the attainment of the

'Discipline.' And, once more, that a main point agreed upon by them was this; that in such a case, subjects might withstand their Prince. That the Ministers, after due admonition, might excommunicate him, as an enemy against the kingdom of Christ. That being so excommunicate, the people might punish him. And that thereby he ceased to be their king.

We are not to suppose that these were idle threats: another generation, the sons of the men I am now speaking of, carried them into execution. The Counsellors of Elizabeth both saw the danger, and immediately took measures to prevent it. The Marprelate tracts were strictly prohibited: as we have seen, Penry with several others had already been arrested: and at last, after great difficulty, the press and printers were seized, it is said in Lancashire.

Seizure of the Marprelate press.

There is no detailed account, that I am aware of, existing, which gives a history of this seizure. Sir Geo. Paule tells us in his life of the Archbishop, that the Marprelate tracts were printed with a kind of wandering press, which was first set up at Moulsey, near Kingston upon Thames, and from thence conveyed to Fausly, in Northamptonshire, and from thence to Norton, afterwards to Coventry,

from thence to Welstone in Warwickshire, from which place the letters were sent to another press in or near Manchester, where (by the means of Henry, that good Earl of Derby) the press was discovered in printing of *More work for a Cooper*.*

Strype in his *Appendix* to the *Annals* (Number LXVIII.) has printed from some manuscripts belonging to Sergeant Puckering, the Examination of certain persons about this matter of the printing, taken at Lambeth, Feb. 15, 1588. (1589, New style.) From this it appears, that a Sir R. Knightly then lived at Fausley, before mentioned: and that the *Epitome* was printed there; by Waldgrave the printer. Mr. Hales of Coventry was next examined, and stated that at his house Waldgrave also worked, and that from him he received a copy afterwards of the *Supplication to the Parliament:* I presume, Penry's *Appellation* is meant. The next evidence is of one Henry Sharpe, who deposed, that at Hale's house, Waldgrave printed, the *Mineral Conclusions*, the *Supplication*, and *Hay any work for the Cooper*. I would refer the reader to the full examination, as given by Strype.

Martin was then busily employed.

At the time when the press and printers were taken, it is not improbable that they were engaged

* Paul's Life of Whitgift. P. 51.

upon more than one pamphlet: the rapidity with which these had already followed one another, would of itself make us suppose that two or three might be preparing together. It is quite clear that one, at least, was far advanced towards completion; viz. '*Hay any more worke for the Cooper.*' All the finished sheets of this were taken, and I believe that no copy of it, in any state, remains. Other titles of books have been mentioned, as seized also at the time: such as Epistomastix, Paradoxes, Dialogues, Miscellanea, Variæ Lectiones, Martin's Dream, The Lives and Doings of English Popes, Itinerarium or Visitationes, Lambethismes. So they are given (as missing books) in *Lownde's Bibliographer's Manual*, p. 1225.

But they all stand, as to the fact of their 'having been,' upon the sole authority of Martin himself, in his later tracts: and I have scarcely any doubt that these titles were a subsequent invention of the Puritans, pretending also that the books were nearly finished and ready for dispersion. It was a cheap way of proving their unwearied diligence in their 'calling,' and of exciting greater pity for their losses.

CHAPTER V.

THE surprizing of the printers and the seizure of their press, had but little, if any, effect upon the purposes of the Puritans. They were neither wearied nor fainthearted: hitherto Martin had sufficiently answered their expectations: their attack was checked but for a very short time only: they were many-limbed, and the destruction of one or two members seemed to quicken and give energy to the rest. ‘*The Protestation of Martin Marprelate*’ (No. 8), quickly made its appearance, showing, however, evidently by its wretched typographical execution, and almost countless errors, the haste and fear in which, so immediately after their surprisal, the printers worked.

The Protestation.

It opens, ‘Thou canst not lightly bee ignorant ‘good reader, of that wich hath latly fallen vnto ‘some things of mine, wich were to be printed, or ‘in printing: the presse, leteres, workmen and all, ‘apprehended and caried, as malefactors before the

'magistrat, whose authoritie I reverence, and 'whose sword I would fear were I as wicked as our 'Bb. are.' It is a strange characteristic of the time and person, that the writer should suppose the surprisal of the press to be perhaps a token of God's anger and dislike against himself: he continues in sober earnest; 'These events I confes doe strike 'me, and giue iuste cause to enter more narrowly 'into my selfe, to see whether I bee at peace with 'God or no.' (P. 1.)

Presently the author says that he (that is, his party) is not dismayed at the mischance which had occurred: 'Good reader, I would not haue thee 'discouraged at this that is latlie fallen out.—As 'to the present action, let them be well assured it 'was not undertaken to be intermitted at everye 'blast of euill successe. Nay let them knowe that 'by the grace of God the last yeare of *Martinisme*, 'that is, of the discrying and displaying of L. Bb. 'shall not be, till full 2 years after the last year of '*Lambethisme*.—Be it knowne vnto them that '*Martinisme* stands vpon au (*an*) other maner of 'fundation, then ther prelacy doth or can stand. 'Therfore yf they will needs ouerthrowe me, let 'them goe in hand with the exdloyte, (*exploit?*) 'rather by prooving the lawfullnes of their places:

'then by exercising the force of ther vnlawefull 'tyranny.' (Pp. 6 & 7.) The *Protestation* gives us an account, or pretended account, of what the *Hay any more worke* would have been. 'To 'tell thee true, good reader, I sigh to remember 'the losse of it, it was so prettie, and so witty.— 'First, then, there was set downe, the true, proper, 'and naturall definition, or rather description of '*Martinisme*, to this effect. That to be a right 'Martiniste indeede, is to bee neither Browniste, 'Cooperist, Lambethist, Schismatike, Papist, atheist, 'traytor, nor yet L. byshop; but one that is at de- 'fyaunce with all men, so far forth as he is an 'enimy to God and her Maiestie. Whereupon I 'remember, I did then aske the reader, whether it 'were not good being a Martiniste.—Nexte to this 'followed a preamble to an Eblitaph vpon the death 'of olde Andrewe Turne-coate, to be sung anti- 'phonically in his graces Chappell, on Wednesdayes 'and Frydayes, to the lamentable tune of Ora- 'whynemeg.—The next prettie thing to this, was 'to my remembrance, Chaplain Some confuted 'with the balde sheath of his own dagger.—Then 'there was recorded a braue agreement which mar- 'tin of his curtesie is contented to make with the 'bishops, &c.' (Pp. 24—31.)

Hay any more worke.

Old 'Andrewe Turne-coate,' above mentioned, is a title which the Puritans very irreverently, whatever his demerits might have been, gave to Dr. Perne.* He died in 1589, Dean of Ely,† and Head of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He had a sufficient command over himself, and his conscience, to go with the leading party, whatever it might be, through the troubled times of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth: no test was found stringent enough to drive him from his deanery or headship. I would not deny that if he had any principle at all, it was upon the side of the Reforming sect: this possibly induced Whitgift to support and patronise him in his later years, to which he was also in a measure bound in gratitude, for some kindnesses which Dr. Perne had shown him when a fellow of Peterhouse, Dr. Perne.

* *Jacke* says, in the '*Dialogue of Tyrannical Dealing*,' 'What, Doctor Pearne? Why he is the notablest turne-'coate in al this land. Why euery boy hath him in his 'mouth, for it is made a prouerbe, both of olde and young, 'that if one haue a coate or cloake that is turned, they saye 'it is *Pearnd*.'—*Sign. D. 2.*

† Neal, Vol. i. p. 196, speaks of him as *Bishop* of Ely: this mistake is to be traced to Strype, who, most unaccountably, also styles him, Bishop. *Life of Whitgift*, p. 42. At this time, 1589, the See of Ely had been vacant eight years, and, a proof of Queen Elizabeth's care as a "nursing mother," was fated to continue so, ten years more.

in Queen Mary's days. His partiality, however, seems to have been extreme. If Dr. Perne had not a character to lose, after 1570, Dr. Whitgift had; and men cannot touch pitch without some of it sticking to them.

Martin Marprelate said that the Archbishop had been at Peterhouse 'the master's boy, and had 'carried his cloak-bag;' Bishop Cooper denies this in his *Admonition*, in a manner which shows at least that the Doctor's intimacy with the Archbishop was a matter of notoriety: and Strype calls him 'his dear friend.' But there is a curious jest, very much to the purpose, which Fuller has handed down to us. Queen Elizabeth (we know from her personal histories) was accustomed to take a certain daily amount of exercise. Once, when it was raining hard, she was still determined upon going from home: at that time she was not in good health: and, after much advice offered, the Archbishop, who happened to be at hand, was called in to dissuade her majesty. He was not listened to; and, quite in accordance, as it seems, with the practice of the court at that time, the Queen's fool, *Clod*, was next appealed to. 'Heaven dissuades you, 'madam,' was his address, 'not only by its weep-'ing aspect, but by the eloquence of the Arch-

'bishop: earth dissuades you by the tongue of 'your poor fool, Clod: and if neither heaven nor 'earth can succeed, at least listen to Dr. Perne, 'whose religious doubts suspend him between 'both.'

Now, in all seriousness, it may not be matter of surprise that Dr. Perne (and many others) should have acted as he did; that he should have been a notorious time-server; a trimmer to every wind; and worse than this, (as he actually was,) eager to show his adhesion to the ruling party, whatever it might be, by persecuting the losing one. But we must wonder, unless we set it down as a sign and token by which we are to guide our judgment as to the rulers of that time, and the sincerity of the great movers in and leaders of the Reformation,—we must wonder, I say, that such men—for Dr. Perne, again, was but one of many, a specimen of a class —should have been sought out for preferment, and allowed to retain their dignities.

Church property coveted by the Court.

There can be no doubt that there were many among the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth, high in rank and powerful in influence, who, remembering the spoils divided some forty years before, hankered after the remnants of the possessions of the Church, and were looking out, eager to avail themselves of

every internal commotion among her members and reported members, to obtain their end.

This was asserted, even by the opponents of Martin Marprelate. In the Dialogue between Pasquill and Marforius (*Return of Pasquil*, No. 14), we find, 'Marforius. By your leave, Cavaliero, 'they say Martin hath great vpholders. *Pasquil.* 'It may be so, some that are as ready as himselfe, 'to rob the Church.' (*Sign. C.* 4. *Rev.*) Again, in the same book, speaking of the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, 'If a greedie desire of with-'holding that from the Church which themselves 'had giuen, was of force to open such a windowe 'to the deuill, that they were presently giuen ouer 'as a pray to the iawes of hell,—howe many foule 'sinnes, and howe many greeuous plagues are to be 'feared in this lande, which alreadie hang at the 'ende of the lyne of *Martinisme*, and would spee-'dilie be puld vpon our heads, if we should but 'beginne to take that from the Church which we 'neuer gave.'—*Sign. D.* 1.

And very narrowly escaped.

I fully believe, that with so near a precedent before them, one almost of their own experience, it was by the most merciful interposition only of the Divine Providence, that the destroying hands were stayed. The same arguments which led men on

blindfold, as it were, to overthrow the abbeys of England, and could make their consciences so blunt, as to care nothing for the sacrilege which they were committing, or, which was more dreadful, could teach men to talk about their sin as done for conscience' sake,—these same arguments, I say, would apply, broadly stated, to the cathedral endowments and parochial revenues of the Church reformed.

Attempts on it were frequently made.

And the work of spoliation was actually attempted and begun. In a note just above (p. 131) it is remarked that the See of Ely was allowed by the Queen to remain vacant for more than eighteen years. This was in order to commit ravages upon, and to misappropriate its revenues. The Secretary and the Lord Treasurer, were among the foremost in the work. Archbishop Sandys was often urged to lease out the manors which belonged to him: and at last pressed to such an extent, that he wrote to one in authority, saying, 'he would not so spoil 'the Church of York, but rather was resolved to 'offer the resignation of his place.' These are instances out of many such: the times were indeed, as the same prelate lamented, 'marvellous times. 'The patrimony of the Church was laid open as a 'prey unto the world. The ministers of the word, 'the messengers of Christ, had become *contempti-*

'*biles omni populo*, and esteemed *tanquam excre-*
'*menta mundi.* It might be feared God had some
'great work in hand, for this ignominy done unto
'himself.' *

Martin's view of the question,

But self-seekers (to use their own term,) as the Puritans unquestionably were, selfish as were the ends to gain which there were few means which they hesitated to employ, this end, at any rate, was not openly proposed, nay, very openly started from with horror, that the courtiers of Queen Elizabeth should divide the spoils. Far from it: they were avowedly destined to another purpose. Let us, upon this, listen to Martin's indignant protest: 'I
'may safelye saye, it is so far from me to bringe
'the Churche liuinges into the hands of any but
'the ministers, and officers thereof;' these ministers to be the elders of the Genevan discipline, Cartwright, Udall, Travers, and the rest; 'that I can
'no more abide church-robberie in a temporall
'man, then I can brooke sacriledge in a presump-
'tuous priest: as I hate the one, so I abhorre the
'other. But as concerning the laying open of their
'bishopprickes to the spoyle of such cormorants as
'gape for their downfals, thereby only to enrich
'themselues, I greatly muze, that our prelates wil

* Life of Whitgift. P. 286.

'be so ouersene as to charge me therwith.'—*Protestacyon*, p. 18.*

Really, all this looks so honest, that if it stood alone, we might give the Puritan credit, more particularly in such a case, for once speaking the truth; but, alas! Pasquil of England has been before us, and hinders our praise. He mildly admonishes Martin Marprelate upon this very point: 'May it please your Masterdom to vnderstand, that 'by the last Butterflie you sent abroad, you tel me 'a tale of a dry Sommer, and protest that you seek 'not to stanch the hote thyrst of any couetous 'courtier, with the bishoprickes of the land, but to 'share them amongst the Ministerie. Fie, fie, do 'you not know that a lyer must haue no shetle 'memory? If you looke eyther to your former 'workes, where you urge the spoyle of the Church 'for the maintenaunce of wars, or to your son Martin Senior, a man that hath slept in his father's 'bosome, and knowes your mind, in exhorting his 'yonger brother to resigne the care of Church

and *Pasquil's* comment.

* So, the writers of the *Supplication of the Communaltie*, 1585, had 'set it down as a most resolute doctrine, that 'things once dedicated to a sacred use, ought to remain by 'the Word of God for ever, and ought not to be converted 'to any private use.'

'reuenewes to the Court, you shal find your selfe 'taken with an overture.'—*The return of Pasquil, sign. D.* 4.

The author also of '*An Almond for a Parrat*' speaks out plainly, not fearing the Court, upon the ill-concealed rapacity of some of the then advisers of the Crown, and their friends the Puritans. He says of Martin Marprelate, 'One thing I am per-'suaded, that he neither respects the propagation 'of the Gospel, nor the prosperity of the Church, 'but only the benefite that may fall to him and his 'boulsterers by the distribution of bishoprickes. 'Beshrewe mee but those Church-liuings would 'come well to decayed courtiers. O howe merrilye 'the dyce would runne, if our lustye laddes might 'goe to hazard for half-a-dozen of these dioceses. 'Not a page but woulde haue a flinge at some or 'other impropriation or parsonage: and in conclu-'sion, those liuings which now maintaine so many 'scollers and students, would in two or three yeares 'be all spent in a taverne amongst a consort of 'queanes and fidlers, that might carouse on their 'wine-bench to the confusion of religion.'—*Sign. E.* 4. *Rev.*

Martin's challenge.

The term 'Protestation' in the title of this tract would rather seem to imply 'Proclamation,' or

'Publishing.' It is this, pp. 10 and 11, printed in a larger type: 'I doe therefore, by this my protes-
'tation, make it knowne to the whole church of
'England—that I who do now go vnder the name
'of Martin Marprelate, do offer personally to apear,
'and there to make my selfe knowen in open dis-
'putation, vpon the danger not onlie of my libertie,
'but also of my life, to maintaine against all our
'bishops, or any els whosoever, that shal dare in
'any scholastical manner, to take their parts: the
'cause of the church government, which is now in
'controversie betwixt me and our prelats: so that
'I may have this condition following inviolablie
'kept and obserued, viz. That for apearing, I be
'not delt with, except thei overthrow me by the
'worde of God.—But if in this encounter I over-
'throwe them (as I make no question of it, if they
'dare abide the pushe) then they to trusse vp and
'be packing to Rome, and to trouble our church
'no longer. Provided also, that if any of the Pu-
'ritans wil ioyn with me, and venture their liues in
'the cause, it maye be lawfull for them to come in
'freely against these dragons in disputation.'

This *Protestation* was new only in its name: merely harping upon an old string. Martin has just before said, in this same book, speaking of the

Not newly offered.

Bishops, 'They are the children of those fathers, 'who neuer as yet durst abide to haue their pro-'ceedings examined by the word, and me thinks 'they should be ashamed to haue it recorded vnto 'ages to come, that they haue evere shunned to 'maintaine theyre cause, eithere by open disputa-'tion, or by any other sounde conference or writing.' —P. 8. There are allusions to it in the '*Appellation of John Penri*,' and in the earlier tracts, the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*. In the first we find, 'Nowe may it please your grace (addressing Whit-'gift) with the rest of your worships, to procure 'that the Puritans may one day haue a free dispu-'tation with you about the controuersies of the 'Church, and if you be not set at a flat *non plus*, 'and quite ouerthrowen, ile be a Lord B. my selfe.' —P. 3. In the other, 'Haue but a free disputa-'tion with the Puritans, about the vnlawfulnes of 'your place, and if you be not ouerthrowene I wil 'come in, and do vnto you what you thinke good: 'for then I will say that you are no Popes.'—P. 3. And in the next tract, which I am about to give some account of, the same demand is boastfully repeated, and the denial of it, or not having been taken notice of, set down as an acknowledgment of *right* being on the side of the Puritans.

This tract is the '*Dialogue of the Tyrannical Dealing, &c.*' (No. 6), and the speakers are 'Puritane, Papist, Jacke of both sides, and Idoll Minister.' The Dialogue.

The opening is good, in the Izaak Walton style. '*Puritane.* You are well ouertaken, sir; doe you travel far this way, I pray you? *Jacke.* Towards London, sir. *Puritane.* I shall willingly beare you companie, if it please you. *Jacke.* With all my heart; I shall be very glad of yours.'—P. 1. Jacke, it appears, had just come from France, from Orleans, the Puritan also from Rochelle; this leads to a discussion upon the points in controversy, sufficiently well managed.

But, being upon the point, let us hear what they say about a disputation. I must premise that they have been joined ere this by the *idoll minister*, who is supposed to represent the Church party, or Conformists of the day. Neither Jacke nor Puritane hit it off with him at first. '*Jacke.* Why, vicker of the diuell' (I suppose the vicker was a meek man) 'why, vicker of the diuell, let the whole conuocation house of diuels know of it, and you wil, for they dare not, noe not *Beelzebub* of Canterburye the cheefe of the diuels, come to disputation, therby to approoue their Callings to be lawe-

'full, and other points in controuersie against the 'discipline of God, as they haue bin often chal- 'lenged, and offered by the Puritans, euen to ad- 'uenture their liues against their bishopricks, and 'yet they durst not. And I pray you tell me, if 'they were not Bishops of the diuel indeed, woulde 'they refuse this offer. *Minister.* Why, the Puri- 'tans have bene often disputed with. *Puritane.* 'Where? In the Bishops closet? For they are 'ashamed to haue it tried before any magistrate. 'Let them, if they dare, procure a free disputation, 'wherby every man may freely speake, and be in- 'differently heard, and if the Bishops and al their 'partakers be not ouerthrowne, I will loose my life 'for it.'—*Sign. C.* 4.*

Character of the Dialogue.

I do not think that any of the Marprelate Tracts exceeds the *Dialogue* in violence and bitterness of language. The check which had been given was not likely to mitigate either the one or the other. In the extract just above 'Bishops of the diuell,' is a specimen which might be easily accompanied, if I thought it necessary, by others of a like sort.

This volume, however, is chiefly of importance

* See a letter in Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 351, from Treasurer Knollys, to the Lord Treasurer, in which he presses this question of a Disputation.

as a proof of what the Puritans really thought of Archbishop Whitgift. There have been, according to various writers' views, various opinions given upon this: some say, that although harsh and severe in a few instances, he nevertheless had won the general good-will of many among the Non-conforming and Puritan party: some go so far as to assert, that he did not press the penalties upon them of his own accord, so much as in compliance with the will of another more powerful than himself, (though the Archbishop stood very near the throne,) and more determined in Church views and principles.

Martin's opinion of Whitgift.

But, says Martin, and I look upon his hatred as clearing a doubtful point in the Archbishop's character, 'Is not this a divelishe pollicie of the Bishop 'of Canterbury, to place such heads in the vniuer-'sitie: that none shal proceed, or be preferred, 'but such as wil subscribe.*—Of all the Bishops 'that ever were in that place, I meane in the see 'of Canterbury, did neuer so much hurt vnto the 'church of God, as he hath done since his comming. 'No Bishoppe that ever had suche an aspiring and

* Curious this: with a little change of persons, plans and purposes, some late proposals in 'the vniuersitie' seem to be a burlesque of it.

'ambitious a mind as he, no not *Cardinal Wolsey:* 'none so proud as he, no not *Steuen Gardiner* of '*Winchester:* none so tirannical as he, noe not '*Bonner.*'—*Sign. D.* 4.* Martin is very particular in stating the place he means; but still it may be thought hyper-critical, if I venture to observe, that not one of his three examples was an Archbishop of Canterbury. Nevertheless, it stands the same for his and my purpose.

Restoration of the High Commission.

Archbishop Whitgift had made himself especially obnoxious by restoring, with fuller powers, the Court of High Commission. A few remarks upon this cannot be out of place, connected so much as

* About four years before this, the Archbishop says, writing to the Lord Treasurer, 'Nether do I fear the displea-'sure of man, nor regard the wicked tongues of the unchari-'table, which cal me Tyrant, Pope, Papist, Knave, and lay 'to my charge things which I never dyd, nor thought upon. '*Scio hoc esse opus Diaboli, ut servos Dei mendacio laceret, 'opinionibus falsis gloriosum nomen infamet, ut qui conscientiæ 'suæ luce clarescunt, alienis rumoribus sordidentur.* So was 'Cyprian himself used for the same causes, and other godlie 'Bishops, to whom I am not comparable. The day wyll 'come when all mens hearts shalbe opened and made 'manifest. In the mean tyme, I will depend upon hym, 'who hath called me to this place; and will not forsake 'those that trust in hym.' *Records.* Life of Whitgift. P. 66.

it is with our subject, and the oath (before spoken of) *ex officio*.

The original Court of High Commission was established under a clause in the Act 1st Eliza. cap. 1. §. xviij. giving authority to the Queen and her successors to assign Commissioners to exercise Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. By virtue of this several commissions were issued, and at length a new one was solicited by the Archbishop in 1584, upon some weighty reasons, all bearing upon the Puritans, the last of which was 'because the whole 'ecclesiastical law, is but a carcase without a soul, 'unless it be qualified by the commission.' Far greater powers were now given than under any former grant: the commissioners were to inquire not only by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, but by all other ways and means they could devise, and by the corporal oath of the accused or suspected persons. Hence it followed that (as the commission itself stated) they might fine or imprison at pleasure.

In order that the court might be as efficient as possible, the Archbishop drew up a form of twenty-four Articles, for the use and guidance of its members. These are stringent enough: and with the

Lord Treasurer's remarks, may be seen in *Neal*,* and in the Appendix of Records to Strype's Life.†

It certainly would appear from Cartwright's case, that if the suspected person refused to take the oath, and cared for neither fine nor imprisonment, the Court of High Commission could not compel, without applying to the higher court of Star-chamber. There seems also to be some doubt, whether the power of enforcing the oath *ex officio*, was included in former commissions before 1584. Bishop Aylmer in 1591 said, 'that he had been 'Commissioner this thirty years, partly in Lincoln 'and partly in London, and had always had that 'clause of the oath inserted.' ‡ The probability is, he had hitherto exceeded his powers.

Its powers checked by prohibitions.

The Court of High Commission acted with great firmness for several years, but about 1598 a practice crept gradually in, which for a time checked its operations; this was by applying for *prohibitions* from the civil courts.

To return to the *Dialogue*. It is quite towards the end of it, that *the Papist* joins the others with, 'You are well overtaken, my masters. Which way 'trauel you, I pray? *Jacke*. Towards London,

* Vol. i. 231—235. † B. iv. No. 9.
‡ Life of Whitgift. P. 364.

'sir. *Papist.* What good newes is there abroad, 'doe you heare any? *Puritane.* I knowe none 'good, for the land is sore troubled with these tre- 'cherous Papists; and our Church pestered,' &c.; and so he goes on, in the old fashion, with Bishops of the devil, and popish priests, and dumb dogs. Most certainly, if we take their own evidence, the Puritans must have had not only a monopoly of impudence, but a miraculous means of knowing whom they might insult upon the Queen's highway with impunity.

Papist, Jacke, and the Minister unite against the Puritan.

The Papist does not, in return, say much; and I should scarcely have thought it necessary to have noticed him, were it not for a somewhat (to say the least) witty application of his having joined the travelling party; for the Dialogue ends with an arrangement between him and Jacke of both sides, and the idoll minister, to lay an information against the Puritan as soon as they should reach London. '*Papist.* I can hardly beleeve that you heard 'masse at *Orleans?* *Jacke.* If I had not bin 'present at the masse, I should have bene taken 'for a Hugonot, and so I shoulde hardly escaped 'with my life. *Papist.* I am the gladder of your 'company. *Jacke.* And I of yours, for I perceue 'you are a Catholike. *Papist.* Yea, indeed, and I

'will not deny it: looke, I thinke the Puritane and 'the Vicker will goe by the eares. *Jacke.* He 'shall doe the Vicker no wrong for al my speeches 'to him: and he will be ruled by me, wee will 'haue him before my lords grace, for we will giue 'him the slip, when we come in the citie, and one 'of vs will fetch a pursiuant, and the other twoe 'shal dog him. *Papist.* Content, sir, if you please, 'let it be so.'—*Sign. D. 4. Rev.*

I have said that here ends the dialogue: this is a mistake, for the Puritan, as might be expected, strikes in, has the last word, and sums up the whole with two texts about 'blind watchmen,' 'dumb dogs,' and 'idoll shepheardes,' and thunders that he will justify all that he hath spoken.

CHAPTER VI.

I SHALL be more brief now in noticing the other Marprelate tracts, which I proposed to give account of.

The first of these is the '*Theses Martinianæ*.' (No. 9.) The fact, that Penry and some others had been imprisoned, and their press taken, suggested the not very witty idea of Martin's sons succeeding to their father's place, and carrying out his interrupted design: neither, whoever he might have been, does the author of this book retrieve his character, in respect of wit, by what he has written. A set of 110 Theses, pretended to have been collected out of his works by old Martin Marprelate, and now published by his son, *Martin junior*, would but drily answer the expectations of his old admirers. The Theses.

We must acknowledge, however, that there is the usual seasoning of virulence and blasphemy. As, for example, the 34th Thesis, 'That the war-

'rant that the Archbishops and Bishops haue for 'their places, can be no better than the warrant which 'the open and most monstrous whoredom in the 'stewes had in times past amongest vs. For by 'the worde they are condemned, &c. And as for 'the laws that maintain them, being the wound and 'sore of the church, they are no more to be ac-'counted of then the lawes mainteining the stewes.' 'That by the doctrine of the Church of England 'our lord bishops are none of Christ's bishops, but 'the ministers of Antichrist.' *Thesis* 60.

Appeals made in it to Foxe, and others.

Many Theses begin, 'That by the doctrine of the 'Church of England,' and that it is *her doctrine* is proved previously by citing Tyndal, and others, and especially Master Fox, as being authorized expounders and doctors of the Church. Once more, the 72nd, 'That *by the doctrine of the Church of* '*Englande*, all ministers be of equal authoritie;' the 78th and 79th, 'That our prelates haue no 'authoritie to make ministers; and to haue a bishops 'licence to preach is the very marke of the beast 'Antichrist.'

Martin junior, adds an '*Epilogue*,' of some five or six pages, headed by an address or dedication, 'To the worshipfull his very good neame, Maister 'Iohn Canturburie.' This gives an account of the

Theses having been picked up 'under a bush;' and a hope is expressed that old Martin Marprelate, who is supposed to be in jail, would not be offended at their having been published. All this seems exceedingly dull and stupid. Neither does the book show any novelty of daring (as my readers are already aware) in demanding a public disputation, (*sign. D.* iij.) or of wit, in using the queer words which had already been repeated over and over again, such as 'Ka,' 'nunckle,' 'Cankerbury,' 'Catercaps,' and the like.

The Just Censure.

But, within a short time, from one of his own party, comes out '*The just Censure and Reproof,*' *&c.* (No. 10.) This is the last tract plainly from Martin Marprelate, which I have to notice; and one feels a sort of satisfaction that the ancient violence of Penry and Cartwright, and the rest, is fully displayed even *to the last.* There are no signs of weariness and flagging in *them.* Their old supporters might probably be getting tired; the fallacy of their arguments might, in many instances, have been exposed; their exaggerations been explained away; their lies contradicted; and, more than all, answerers in their own style have taken the field against them, but they are determined to die hard. If profaneness and malice were destined

for a season to be checked, though not destroyed, it was even then to be only after a desperate struggle.

Why written.

But why this apparent disagreement among themselves? Why this censure of one of Martin's sons by an elder brother? Because, it is pretended, if no more pamphlets had been published after the imprisonment of the printers, and Penry's seizure, that the High Commissioners would probably have looked upon Martin's productions as mere jokes, and said, 'I faith, lette him go, Mar-'tin is a madde knaue.' *Sign. A.* ij. *Rev.* But now their pursuivants will be sent out, and a sharp search made, and 'Marke whether these poore men 'beforenamed, to wit, Penry, Sharpe, Walde-graue, 'Newman, &c. with many other good men, who, I 'dare sweare for them, did neuer medle nor make 'at anie time with the metropoliticall writings of 'our renowmed father, shall not be now as hotlie 'pursued after as euer they were. And al this 'comes of thy foolish and paltrie meddling in mat-'ters too high for thy capacitie. And thus other 'men are like to smart by thy follie.'—*Sign. B.* ij.

In this '*Reproofe*,' the Puritan speaks out again about the 'men of sinne, I meane the Canturburie 'Caiphas, with the rest of his anti-Christian beasts,

'who beare his abominable marke' (*Sign. A.* ij.); and makes his usual ten or eleven protests against the Ecclesiastical government of the Church of England. I quote the first of these. 'First, I 'protest and affirme, that the foresaide Iohn Whit-'gift, *alias* Canturburie, which nameth himselfe 'archbishop of Canturburie, is no minister at all in 'the church of God, but hath, and doeth wrong-'fully usurp, and inuade the name and seate of the 'ministerie, vnto the great detriment of the Church 'of God, the vtter spoyle of the soules of men, and 'the likelie ruine of this commonwealth. And in 'this case do I affirme al the lord bishops in Eng-'land to be.—*Sign. B.* iv.

Attacks the Archbishop.

It is well known that Archbishop Whitgift maintained always a household and retinue suited to his high dignity. If I remember rightly, it was of him that an Italian spoke, when he afterwards told some Englishman that 'the English nation had been 'much misrepresented abroad: that instead of there 'being no Archbishop, or cathedral, or ecclesias-'tical services, he never remembered to have seen 'greater pomp displayed, or more outward cere-'monial.' It would be well if we might justly appropriate this praise, but we cannot. Ever since the alterations of the 16th century, though, upon

the one hand, the Church of England has retained more propriety of administration of her Sacraments, and arrangement of her sanctuaries, than we may see in the meeting-houses of the Kirk of Scotland, or of Wesleyans, or Quakers, yet, upon the other, she has been far less Catholic in appearance (most certainly to an Italian eye) than when the missionaries landed with St. Augustine, and celebrated the Divine Offices in the open air, or in a log-built church. If, then, the traveller did not speak in sarcasm, much that he said must be set down as empty compliment: greatly as we may desire it to be so, it could not possibly be true of a Church, mercilessly stripped of almost all her ancient glorious apparel, and with a scarcely sufficient ceremonial left, by which even in decency, her priests might go through the offices of her Liturgy and Ritual.

The fact, however, remains undisputed, that Archbishop Whitgift properly kept up great personal state. Sir Geo. Paule says, 'He kept a good 'armory, and a fair stable of great horses: inas-'much as he was able to arm at all points both 'horse and foot; and divers times had one hundred 'foot and fifty horse of his own servants mustered 'and trained, for which purpose he entertained

'captains.' Martin Marprelate was not a likely man to overlook this: we have one sharp example of his keen sight in the '*Just Censure and Reproof.*' 'Doest thou not see thy vncle Canturburie 'abroad in his visitation? Doest thou not see with 'how manie men Esau rides, that if hee meete with 'his poore brother Jacob he maie be sure to sucke 'his blood? Is seuen score horse nothing, think-'est thou, to bee in the traine of an English 'priest? Whereof also there are thirtie golden 'chaines! Doest thou thinke that the kingdome 'of Christ, which thy father seeketh to builde, 'shall be able to stand, seeing John Canturburie, 'with so manie men, rideth about the countrie, to 'proclame nothing else but fire and sworde vnto 'as manie as professe themselues to be the true 'subjects thereof.'—*Sign. B.* 1.

Puritan claim asserted of being *the* true Church.

The Puritans were never behindhand in claiming for themselves the distinction of being *the* true Church: as here, in his last effort, Martin declares himself and company to be the only 'true subjects 'of Christ's kingdome;' so in his first tract also he had said, 'all the pastors in the land, that deserue 'the name of pastors, are against their wil vnder 'the bishops iurisdictions.'—*Epistle*, p. 6.

Hooker has set down, amongst the causes ad-

vancing the popularity of Puritanism, this one; that it is 'instilled into their hearts, that the Spirit, 'leading men into their opinion, doth thereby seal 'them to be God's children; and that, as the state 'of the times now standeth, the most special token 'to know them that are God's own from others is 'an earnest affection that way. This hath bred 'high terms of separation between such and the 'rest; whereby the one sort are named the bre-'thren, the godly, and so forth; the other, world-'lings, time-servers, pleasers of men not of God, 'with such like.' And Bishop Cooper, speaking of the *Recusants*, 'Some haue affirmed flatly vnto 'me, that in seeking to presse them to come to our 'church and seruice, we doe against our owne con-'sciences, seeing our most zealous preachers (as 'they be taken) openly speake and write, that as 'well our service, as the administration of the sa-'craments are contrary to the word of God.'—*Admonition*, p. 128.

Treatise of Reformation.

I propose to consider Penry's *Treatise of Reformation* towards the end of this volume, as having certainly been printed some time after the replies to Martin Marprelate. Before we pass on, however, to that part of our subject, there is one matter frequently alluded to in many of the tracts which have

already been examined, and of which some notice seems not unnecessary.

Puritan exaltation of preaching.

If there is one thing more than another which has ever distinguished, from its first beginning up to the present time, the puritanical party either in or out of the Church, it is the unduly exalting of the office and benefits of preaching. Preaching is, without doubt, one of the appointed means, by which God saves men, by which He calls them out of darkness into light, and leads them onwards to perfection. But not content with giving to it its proper and reasonable honour, the Puritans lowered the mysterious efficacy of the Sacraments, and made preaching the only ordinary means, by which men might be saved. It was natural that they should do so. They, teachers and disciples together, were men who could not bear so great a burden, as would be faith in the promises of God, without understanding, in some degree at least, how and why the observance of certain means should produce certain effects. They could comprehend easily, that men might be influenced by reasoning, by eloquence, by constant admonitions from the pulpit: but they could not understand how water should wash away sin; how the grace given in confirmation should both strengthen and subdue; how the blessing of

the Church is indispensable to the future well-being of the newly-married, and to the establishing them in a religious observance of their new duties; how, more than all, the partaking of the consecrated elements, the eating of the flesh of Christ, and the drinking of His blood, could be necessary to the continuance of a Christian life on earth, to the actual enjoyment of, and a capability for an endless life hereafter.

Particularly by Martin.

Hence we find frequent assertions to this purport in the Marprelate tracts. I shall trouble the reader with but one extract. In the *Epistle*, we find, 'John 'London (Aylmer) demaunded whether preach-'ing was the onely meanes to saluation? Penrie 'answered, that it was the onely ordinarie meanes. '——This point being a long time canuassed, at 'the lēgth his worship of Winchester (Bp. Cooper) 'rose vp, and mildly after his manner, brast forth 'into these words. I assure you my lords, it is an 'execrable heresie: an heresie, quoth John Penry, 'I thank God that euer I knewe that heresie." *Epistle.* P. 30.

But not lawful for Bishops.

But, though more preachers sent abroad was to be the remedy for evil, Martin will not allow that the Bishops should preach. He proves it by a syllogism in a new mood. 'This is the syllogisme,

'the moode answereth vnto "Celarent," elder daughter to "Barbara," and I will haue it called, "Perncanterburikenolde."'

Perne. No ciuill magistrate can be an ordinarye preacher without sinne. *ce.*
Canterburie. Euerie Lorde Bishoppe is a ciuill magistrate. Therefore *la.*
Kenolde. No Lord Bishop can be an ordinarie preacher. *rent.*

'What say you now, brethren, would you haue 'ciuill gouernors (such as our Bishops are) to 'preach? I hope not. For although I cannot deny, 'but som of our bishops are very great breakepul-'pits, and have as marueilous rawe gifts in preach-'ing, as any that euer came to Paul's wharff, yet 'surely I cañot see what warrant you haue to vrge 'ciuil officers to preach." *Epitome.* Sign. E. iv. Rev.

If preaching then was so high an office, and its effects so great, it would not be just to pass on without, at the same time, adding the opinion of a contemporary, as to the performances of the Puritans themselves. *Pasquil of England* says, that they 'leape into the Pulpit with a Pitchfork, to 'teach men, before they haue either learning,

'iudgment or wit inough to teach boyes." *Returne of Pasquil.* Sign. A. iij. Again, in the same volume, he replies to the question, 'haue you not 'heard *Cooper* at Paules chayne, and the rest of 'the men that are commended to your eares by '*Martin Senior? Pas.* I haue followed them 'also, and I finde them fitte to preach vpon Bel-'lowes, and Bagpipes, and blowne Bladders, they 'are so full of ventositie, that I cannot come at 'their matter for winde and wordes.' Sign. c. ij. Rev.

The style which was recommended.

But we have also evidence of their own, as to the style of preaching which was to perform wonders: and this includes, as it happens, the judgment of Penry himself. It seems that about 1588 a clergyman of the name of Hocknell, who had been in orders some six or seven years, was presented to a benefice. It is not clear, from his after-conduct, that he was sincerely inclined to that party; but whether it was the fashion of the neighbourhood into which he was going, or whether he thought two strings to his bow were better than one, he sought for some testimonials from the Ministers of the said shire. These testimonials differed somewhat from modern ones, because (the account tells us) it was a sort of fresh ordination: Hocknell was willing to renounce his first calling by the Bishops to the ministry. So

the non-conforming ministers appoint a time for him to preach, and give him a text. Which was performed at St. Peter's Church. 'After which 'sermon, the *classis* alone being assembled, Hock-'nell was willed to stand aloofe. Then Penrie be-'gan to make a speech, and to exhort them, &c, to 'deal without affection. After which they fell to 'consultation. Some liked that he should be ad-'mitted, and others misliked; both because he had 'not delyvered the *metaphor* which was in his text, 'and because he was no Grecian nor Hebrician. 'Who overweighed the rest.—Whereupon Hock-'nell fel out with them, and contemning their cen-'sure, did proceed, and took possession of his 'benefice."*

When, happily for himself, the clerical aspirant had this marvellous gift, he could inveigh bitterly against the institutions which gave him bread, and denounce his Church, her offices, and worship, from her own pulpit. Those ordinances which he despised were to be performed by deputy. 'Some 'humble curate was hired to read prayers, and ad-'minister sacraments. The well-endowed incumbent 'could not stoop to waste his powers and tarnish 'his consistency, by any such grovelling regard for

* Strype. Life of Whitgift, P. 331.

his obligations. He was above ordinances. His admiring hearers termed him *a Preacher* and *no Sacrament Minister.* His own assistant, and neighbours equally unpretending, were contemptuously known as *reading and ministering Ministers.* We know of one preacher who inveighed in the pulpit against statute *Protestants, Injunction men, and such as love to jump with the law.**

Bancroft's Sermon.

I must add a word or two, now we are on the subject of preaching, about a very famous sermon, which almost comes into the series of the Marprelate tracts: so often is Martin alluded to in it, so near the same time was its delivery, and so important were its results. I allude to Dr. Bancroft's sermon at Paul's cross, Feb. 9, 1588. That is, new style, 1589.

It was in this sermon that the Divine right of episcopacy was first openly and plainly laid down and supported, after an interval of many years. This alone would in those days be sufficient to create much uproar, and even general dissatisfaction. We may find in it also many important observations, bearing upon the evils prevalent in England. The peril in which the Church then was is acknowledged, and some remedies suggested.

* Soames' Elizabethan Hist. P. 242.

In short, the whole sermon is well worth perusal by every one, who wishes to inquire into the history of the time.

Answered.

It was not to be expected that the Puritans would sit down quietly under such a public and learned reproof. Very shortly afterwards came out 'A 'briefe discovery of the vntruthes and slanders '(against the true gouernement of the Church of 'Christ) contained in a Sermon, &c., by D. Ban-'croft.' 4to. no date. Pp. 56. The point of this tract (a larger answer is promised in the title of it) is to disprove the necessity of episcopacy. There is a preliminary letter to the 'godlie indifferent Reader,' giving an abstract of what the writer intends to prove, viz. that 'our Bb. are scismatickes,' and that 'sathan is wont to bear power and sway by virtue of the hierarchie.'

CHAPTER VII.

The replies.

WE must turn, at last, to those productions which were to be effective, when other means had failed, to check (for a time) this outbreak against the Church. I have given little more than a sketch, and but few extracts from the writings of Martin Marprelate; and I propose to be not more copious in my selection now. It will be sufficient for the purpose if I mention each in order, upon my former plan, and give my reader a just notion of the spirit in which they were designed to carry out their purpose.

It is not to be wondered at that Neal, and others after him of the same sort, should attempt to class both the answerers and the answered as equally obnoxious to the government, and equally included under the same prohibitory proclamations. These writers knew that the original pamphlets were of very rare occurrence, that few could obtain them, and that the majority of people were quite content

to take statements for granted: it did not seem likely therefore to injure their reputation as historians (such as it was) so to speak of them, and echo from one to another a false account.

Not disliked by the government.

But it is quite certain that Nash and others, whoever they might have been, who were the authors of these replies, were looked upon in a very different light by the government of the day. It is not necessary to defend upon every point the style of answer adopted; the *argumentum ad hominem*, the *tu quoque* way of reasoning, is one of the least satisfactory at all times: but here was an especial case; one out of the common pale of things; extravagant in its attack, it was to be met by an extravagant defence; fools were to be answered according to their folly.

But recommended.

It is certain, also, that this mode of defence was not adopted without consideration, and until other means had been tried and failed. There are evidences ample to prove this: for example: a passage in the preface to the Answer to Bancroft's Sermon shows what was the opinion at the time, viz. that the answers to Martin were recommended by, and carried on under the guidance of people in authority. The author is speaking of the *Almond for a Parrot*, and calls it a vile and scurrilous pamphlet,

which had been lately suffered to come abroad by the privity and allowance of the Bishops. He continues: 'the strength which they get by such 'leud and filthie stuffe, & the discredit which 'thereby they worke either vnto the cause, or the 'men and women whome they suffer to bee so vn-'worthilie traduced, is noe other then it were to 'bee wished (that seeing they will needs be filthy) 'they would publish such another booke euery day: 'That then it might appeare indeed whose sonnes 'they are. And this is all the confutation that I 'thinke, so godles & leud a scrole to deserve.'

But there is a proof so strong that we need ask for no more: coming as it does from so high a quarter, and spoken of so important a person.

When Dr. Bancroft was made Bishop of London, the Archbishop, in consequence of some ill reports spread abroad about him, wrote a commendatory letter to the Court in his behalf. Among other things, 'That he was, by his diligent search, the first 'detector of Martin Marprelate's press and books: 'where and by whom they were printed. He was 'a special man, that gave the instructions to her 'Majesty's learned council, when Martin's agents 'were brought into the Star Chamber. *By his 'advice that course was taken, which did princi-*

'*pally stop Martin's and his fellows' mouths; viz.* '*to have them answered after their own vain* '*writings.*'—*Strype. Life of Whitgift*, cap. xxiij. p. 516.

Nash, not the only writer of them.

It is not easy to say which of these answers was first published; neither is it possible to assign a name to each as its author. It must be evident to any one who reads the books, that they were written by several men. Yet Thomas Nash, who had formerly been of St. John's College, Cambridge, is usually spoken of as the sole author: generally in Catalogues (even of our public libraries) we find all entered under his name, which not only confirms error, but misleads. Anthony à Wood attributes to him particularly '*Pappe with a Hatchet;*' but Dr. Bliss has added, in a note to his edition of Wood, 'It may be doubted, however, whether Nash 'wrote this; for Oldys, in his MS. notes to Lang-'baine's "*Dramatic Poets*," in the British Museum, 'expressly says that John Lilly was the author.' So imperfect is our knowledge of the whole affair. It is not either impossible or improbable but that Bancroft himself had something more to do with the composing them than merely recommending. His avowed book, the '*Dangerous Positions and Proceedings*, 1593,' is little less severe, somewhat in

the same style, and shows an intimate acquaintance with the most foul and disgraceful pamphlets of the Puritans.

Pappe with a Hatchet, and the Countercuffe.

I see every reason to suppose that *Pappe with a Hatchet*, (No. 11,) and the *Countercuffe*, (No. 12,) were the first published, and must have made their appearance shortly after the *Theses Martinianæ*, and the *Just Censure and Reproofe*. 'Take 'this,' the author of the first says, 'for the first 'venew of a yonger brother, that meanes to drie 'beate those of the elder house.'—*Sign. E.* 3. *Rev.* The dedication is, 'To the Father and the two 'Sonnes, Huffe, Ruffe, and Snuffe, the three tame 'ruffians of the Church, which take pepper in the 'nose, because they cannot marre Prelates grating.'

As a specimen of the style and manner of arguing now about to be tried against Martin Marprelate, I shall give the beginning and part of this dedication.

'Roome for a royster; so that's well sayd, itch 'a little further for a good fellowe. Now haue at 'you all my gaffers of the rayling religion, tis I 'that must take you a peg lower. I am sure you 'looke for more worke, you shall haue wood enough 'to cleaue, make your tongue the wedge, and your

'head the beetle, Ile make such a splinter runne 'into your wits, as shal make them ranckle till you 'become fooles. Nay, if you shoot bookes like 'fooles bolts, Ile be so bold as to make your iudg-'ments quiuer with my thunderbolts.—We care not 'for a Scottish mist, though it wet us to the skin. 'I professe rayling, and think it as good a cudgell 'for a Martin, as a stone for a dogge, or a whippe 'for an ape, or poyson for a rat. Yet find fault 'with no broad termes, for I haue measured yours 'with mine, and I find yours broader iust by the 'list.—I was loath to write as I haue done, but that 'I learnde, that he that drinkes with cutters, must 'not be without his ale dagger; nor he that buckles 'with Martin, without his lauish termes.—If a Mar-'tin can play at chestes, he shall knowe what it is 'for a scaddle pawne to crosse a Bishop in his owne 'walke. Such dydoppers must be taken up, els 'theile not stick to check the king. Rip vp my 'iife, discipher my name, fill thy answer as full of 'lies as of lines, swel like a toade, hisse like an 'adder, bite like a dog, and chatter like a monkey, 'my pen is prepared and my minde; and if yee 'chaunce to finde any worse words than you brought, 'let them be put in your dads dictionarie. And so

'farewell, and be hangd, and I pray God ye fare 'no worse.

'Yours at an houres warning,
Double V.

Immediately after this Dedication follows a more sober admonition to 'the indifferent Reader,' in which the author says, 'it is found that certaine 'Martins, if no miscreants in religion, (which wee 'may suspect,) yet without doubt malecontents, '(which wee ought to feare,) haue throwen fire, 'not into the church porch, but into the chauncell, 'and though not able by learning and iudgment to 'displace a sexton, yet seeke to remooue Bishops.'

The author excuses himself.

And he again excuses the style which he has been obliged to adopt: 'If they be answered by the gra-'uitie of learned Prelates, they presentlie reply 'with railings; seeing then either they expect no 'graue replie, or that they are settled with railing 'to replie, I thought it more convenient to give 'them a whiske with their owne wande, than to 'haue them spurd with deeper learning. I seldom 'vse to write, and yet never writ anie thing that in 'speech might seeme vndecent, or in sense vn-'honest; if here I haue vsed bad tearmes, it is be-'cause they are not to be answered with good 'tearmes.'

The objects of the Puritans exposed.

The passage above, 'such dydoppers must be 'taken up, else theile not stick to check the king,' reminds us of the often quoted untrue aphorism of King James. 'No bishop, no king.'* The replies to Martin Marprelate press this point however: years before the conference at Hampton Court, a

* Not that James cared so much for Episcopacy, as he did for the acknowledgment of his own divine right as King. Bancroft in his sermon (which the reader must remember was preached some twenty years before James succeeded to the throne of England, and when the preacher would be more likely to take an unprejudiced view, than when arguing as Bishop of London in 1603, at the Hampton Court Conference) gives us a succinct account of the causes which had led James in Scotland to arrive at such a conclusion. Speaking of a most outrageous decision which the chief Presbyterian assembly had made, he continues, 'When the King saw 'what course these men held, and how notwithstanding the 'equalitie they pretended, they sought altogether their own 'advancement: how they erected that in themselves, which 'they had dejected in the Bishops: how they took upon them 'more then ever the Bishops had done: how they did imi-'tate preposterouslie the papal iurisdiction; how under the 'pretence of their presbyteries, they trod upon his scepter, 'and labored to establish an ecclesiastical tyranny;—that it 'tended to the overthrow of his state and Realme, and to 'the decaie of his crown, he overthrew their presbyteries, 'and restored the Bishops again to their places.' Sermon, &c. P. 74.

The above is a most important explanation of the ends, which influenced both the King and the Presbyterians.

generation or two before their plans had matured, the necessary consequences to which, as the constitution of England is framed, the Puritan objections and attempts tended, were clearly foreseen.

Story of the Horse-stealer.

In this book we find again, 'There was one in-'dited at a Jaile deliverie of felonie, for taking vp 'an halter by the high way. The Jurie gaue ver-'dit and said guiltie. The Judge, an honest man, 'said it was hard to find one guiltie for taking vp 'a penie halter, and bad them consider, what it was 'to cast awaie a man. Quoth the foreman, we 'haue enquired throughly, and found there was a 'horse tied to the halter. I marie (quoth the 'Judge) then let him be tied to the halter and the 'horse goe home. *Martin* saies, he is envied 'onelie, because he leuelleth at Bishops! and we 'say as the Judge saith, that if there were there 'nothing else, it were hard to persecute them to 'death; but when we finde that to the rule of the 'Church, the whole state of the Realme is linckt 'and that they filching away Bishop by Bishop, 'seeke to fish for the Crown, and glew to their newe 'Church theire owne conclusions, we must then 'say, let Bishops stand, and they hang; that is, 'goe home.'—*Pappe, &c. Sign. C.* 3. *Rev.* Again, soon after: 'They that teare the boughs, will hew

'at the tree, and hauing once wet their feete in 'factions, will not care how deepe they wade in 'treason.' *Sign. E.* 2.

Evidences of Puritan treason.

I could multiply these passages: for example, in the *Almond for a Parratt*, p. 5: 'Were this all, 'then shoulde not treason be such a braunche of 'your religion as it is. Haue not you and your 'followers vndermined her Graces Throane, as 'much as traytours might.' And, indeed, there had been open threats used by the Puritans which were quite sufficient to set men on their guard, and excuse the severity with which some of the leaders were treated by the Council. They had declared in their '*Subscription to the book of Discipline*,' that it should prevail, in spite of all opposition: and they hint at other methods to advance it, besides an appeal to the Queen's Majesty and the Parliament. In the '*Motion to the Council with Submission*' they had said that thousands sigh for it, and ten thousands have fought for it, and approved. Thomas Cartwright in his '*Reply to Whitgift*' that, some of these matters are such, as if every hair of our head were a life, we ought to afford them, in defence of them. Martin himself, in his *Epitome*, had wished that the Parliament would bring it in (*i. e.* the godly discipline) though

it were by withstanding her Majesty. And once more in the *Just Censure*, he boasts of 'a hundred 'thousand hands, to offer a supplication, which in 'policy would not be rejected; especially standing 'thus in danger of our enemies abroad.'

I have mentioned already that not only are the Marprelate tracts full of scandalous stories of the Bishops and Clergy, but also that Martin had promised to put spies in every parish, for the purpose of collecting slanders, and that a volume was nearly finished, and about to be published. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the replies abundantly retort with stories, one or two equally indecent, of the leading Nonconformists, and itinerant preachers, and notable men among the godly.

Pasquil's Lives.

But it was not an unwise thought also to threaten such a volume against them in return. Pasquill says, that 'hee came latelie ouer-sea into *Kent*, from 'thence he cut ouer into *Essex* at *Gravesend*, and 'hearing some tidings of *Hartfordshire*, hee made 'as much haste as he coulde to *S. Albanes*, where 'he staide one whole Sabaoth at the *Christopher*, 'and hauing there pestered a newe paire of writing-'tables with profitable notes for that quarter, hee 'sette forwarde the Munday following to *North-'hamton-shire*, smiling and glauncing as hee turned

'his horse about to bidde the congregation of *Saint* '*Michaels* adieu.* To be breefe with your wor- 'shipfultie Pasquill hath posted very dilligentlie 'ouer all the Realme, to gather some fruitfull vo- 'lum of THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS, which mau- 'gre your five hundred fauorites shall be printed. 'There shall you read, &c. &c.' (with half a dozen specimens which I willingly omit.) *Countercuffe. Sign. A.* ij. *Rev.* And the author of *Pappe with a Hatchet* threatens; 'Pasquil is comming out 'with the liues of the Saints. Beware my com- 'ment, tis odds the margent shall be as full as 'the text. I haue manie sequences of Saints; if 'naming be the advantage, and ripping up of lives 'make sport, haue with thee knuckle deepe, it shall 'neuer bee said, that I dare not venter mine eares, 'where Martin hazards his necke.'—*Sign. E.* 3.

Sir Peter, &c.

The passage in the title of the *Countercuffe* 'Not of olde Martin's making, which newlie knighted 'the Saints in Heauen, with rise vppe Sir Peter and 'Sir Paule,' refers to some places in the *Epistle* and the *Epitome* in which the Puritan, not content with speaking evil of earthly dignities, had denied also their proper titles to the Holy Saints,

* These were places well known as strongholds of the Puritans.

and made a mock at them. *Sir Peter, Sir Marie,* &c. instead of Saint Peter, and Saint Mary the Blessed Virgin, occur again and again. I leave Bishop Cooper to express, as he has well done, the indignation, which every good man must feel at this blasphemy. 'I must needs,' he says, 'looke 'for any hurt, that venemous scoffing, and unbridled 'tongues can worke toward me. And how shoulde 'I hope to escape that, when the Saints of God in 'Heaven do feel it? In the course of their whole 'libell, when they speake of *Peter, Paul,* or the '*Blessed Virgin Mary,* &c., whome other justlie 'call Saintes, their phrase in derision is, *Sir Peter,* '*Sir Paul, Sir Marie.* Surely it had becommed 'right well the same unmodest Spirite, to have 'said also *Sir Christ,* and so throughly to have 'bewrayed himself.'—*Admonition, Sign, A.* ij.

CHAPTER VIII.

Return of Pasquil.

THE *Returne of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of England* (No. 14) is a dialogue between himself and Marforius, as the title of the tract tells us, meeting upon the 'Royall Exchange.' This seems, independent of some internal evidence, to have been by the same hand as was the *Countercuffe*. Pasquil inquires, 'But of fellowship tell 'me, how hath my *Countercuffe* been intreated?' and Marforius answers both to his satisfaction, and I must confess to my own, 'It was verie welcome 'to the court, thankfully received in both Vniver- 'sities, the citties of the land doe giue you good 'speeches, as for the countrey, after the plainest 'manner, with hart and good will they are ready 'to greete you with a cake and a cup of ale in 'euery parish. This onely is the thing that greiveth, 'they know not what *Pasquill* is. They desire in 'all places of the Realme to be acquainted with 'you, because they would bring you intelligence,

'thicke and threefolde, to further your volume of 'the liues of the Saints.' *Sign. A.* ij.

A new Golden Legend.

This 'Golden Legende,' as it is called in the title, if the Puritans had gone on with their threatened publications, would probably have proved, and without the expense of much labour in the collection, a bulky volume. There was an abundance of stories afloat (of which we have in these answers a random selection) about the doings of that 'godly' set, and if Martin upon his side did not stop to investigate the evidence upon which they were told, it was not to be expected that those whom he had so wantonly attacked would be more strict in their inquiries. But happily we have been spared this infliction: for one's antiquarian curiosity does not reach so far as to regret the loss of those anecdotes and secret history of Puritan misdeeds: no length of time could have sweetened such a dunghill:—and more than this, the good old 'Golden Legende' itself, the favourite book and guide of our forefathers, holding up examples which men ought to follow, retains its holy associations, unmixed even in a passing thought with any thing so wretched, as this travesty must inevitably have proved.

Every one has heard of the 'Prophesyings' which were set on foot, and patronized by some of

the Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's reign, until their ill-consequences were discovered; in this dialogue Pasquil gives an account of one, at which he says he was present, at Ashford in Kent. I extract this as curious, from a contemporary, and probably not exaggerated.

A Puritan Prophesying.

'I went thither,' he says, 'with a student of 'Cambridge, and comming in the habite of schollers, 'we pressed somewhat boldly into their companie 'to dine with them, assuring ourselues to finde 'some new service at theyr table. When the din- 'ner was doone, one of them read a chapter, every 'man keeping his place still.—The chapter was, 'the 1 Cor. 3; which being read, the reader began 'first to vtter his conceit upon the text, in short 'notes, then it came to his next neighbours course, 'and so in order, glosses went a begging, and ex- 'positions ranne a pace through the table, till they 'came to me, whom they desired to open my mouth 'among the rest. I vtterly refused to vndertake 'the taske, notwithstanding, I was so wonderfully 'vrged, that I coulde not any way shift them off, 'and somewhat I spake among them. When I 'came to the ende of my cariere, my companion 'was requested to pricke in for company with his 'freendes. I needed no minstrill to make me mer-

'rie, my hart tickled of it selfe, when it came to 'his turn, because I knew him to be a gentleman 'well studied in Philosophie, but he had not yet 'medled with Diuinitie. He chose the thirteenth 'verse of the chapter to discourse vpon, where the 'Apostle saith, Euery mans worke shall be tryed 'by fire. But to see how brauely hee trotted ouer 'all the meteors bredde in the highest region of 'the ayre, to see how louingly hee made the sence 'of the Apostle, and *Ouid's* fiction of *Phaeton's* 'firing of the world to kisse before they parted, and 'then how souldier-like hee made an ende of his 'manage with a double rest, was sport enough for 'vs to beguile the way, as we travailed backe againe 'from thence to Canterburie. I have brought 'many a propper note out of that meeting, for euery 'mans spirit at the table, had two bowts with the 'Apostle before hee left him, and one whilst ano-'ther spake, had a breathing time giuen him to 'whisper with the Holy Ghost, to know what 'should be put into his head to vtter, against it 'came about to his course againe.'—*Return of Pasquil, sign. C.* ij.

I have the more readily selected this description of one of the famous 'Exercises,' as they were also called, because it does not appear that while the

author was present, there was any attempt at those treasonable and forbidden discussions in which the members very frequently engaged, and managed, by some twist or other, to drive their subject into. Here we have a plain account of what the Exercise was, as recommended by Parkhurst or Grindal; and I do not think that it differed much from some such meetings of the clergy in modern days, (under other names,)—dull, stale, and unprofitable—an opening for the display of the commonest information, and for the indulgence of an aptitude to talk; an opportunity which, if the members are agreed upon the point before them, is worse than useless; if they are divided, is almost certain to lead to personal recrimination and to quarrels; a disputation without a moderator, whose authority is recognised for an instant when interference becomes really necessary, and where the vain and the pretending claim an unjust superiority, which the less assuming, though they refuse to own it, cannot resist.

Modern imitations.

I make one extract more from this tract, viz. 'Pasquils Protestation vppon London Stone.' We have had Martin's; let us now hear his adversary's. 'I, Cavaliero Pasquill, the writer of this simple 'hand, a young man of the age of some few hun-'dred yeeres, lately knighted in Englande, with a

'beetle and a bucking tub, to beat a little reason 'about Martin's head, doe make my protestation 'vnto the world, that if any man, woman, or childe, 'haue anything to say against Martin the great, or 'any of his abettors, of what state or calling soever 'they be, noble or ignoble, from the very court 'gates to the cobbler's stall,' Pasquil flies high, but his quarry was in sight: 'If it please them these 'dark winter nights, to sticke up their papers upon 'London stone, I will there giue my attendance to 'receiue them, from the day of the date heereof, to 'the full terme and reuolution of seuen yeeres next 'ensuing. Dated 20 Octobris. Anno Millimo, 'Quillimo, Trillimo, per me venturous Pasquill the 'Cavaliero.'—*Sign. D.* iij. *Rev.* Pasquil had just come 'from the other side the seas,' and had been, there is no doubt, at Venice, and admired the usefulness of the lion's mouth.

Almond for a Parratt.

An Almond for a Parrat (No. 13) would seem to have been published next. The author alludes to *The Return* and to *Pap with a Hatchet*. Speaking of Martin Marprelate, he says, 'His crazed 'cause goes on crutches, that was earst so bravely 'encountered by Pasquin and Marphoreus, and not 'many moneths since most wittily scofte at by the 'extemporall author of Pap with a Hatchet.'—*Sign. B.* 3.

The style is different from the last-named of these tracts; and from other evidence I think it highly improbable that both, as has commonly been supposed, are from the same pen. The extravagant wit of the *Pap with a Hatchet*, and manner of expression, are imitated, in one or two places, with the plain intention of being so understood. By another author.

But there is a general soberness of argument in this pamphlet, which is not to be found in the other, and an earnestness of reasoning in many parts, showing the natural style of the writer of it, if he had not been desirous of concealing himself.

I would quote, particularly, one passage in illustration of this: 'By this time, I thinke, good-man 'Puritan, that thou art perswaded that I knowe as 'well as thy owne conscience thee, namely, *Mar-* '*tin Makebate* of *Englande*, to bee a moste scur- 'vie and beggerlie benefactor to obedience, and, '*per consequens*, to feare neyther men, nor that 'God who can cast both bodie and soule into un- 'quenchable fire.—Talke as long as you will of the 'ioyes of heauen, or paines of hell, and turne from 'your selues the terrour of that iudgement howe 'you will, which shall bereaue blushing iniquitie of 'the figge leaues of hypocrisie, yet will the eie of 'immortalitie discerne of your painted pollutions,

'as the euer-liuing foode of perdition. The hu-
'mours of my eies are the habitations of fountaines,
'and the circumference of my heart the enclosure
'of tearefull contrition, when I thinke howe many
'soules at that moment shall carrie the name of
'*Martine* on their foreheads to the vale of confu-
'sion. There will enuie, malice, and dissimulation
'bee euer calling for vengeaunce agaynst thee, and
'incite whole legions of deuilles to thy deathless
'lamentation. *Mercie* will saie unto thee, I knowe
'thee not, and *Repentaunce*, what haue I to doe
'with thee? All hopes shall shake the head at
'thee, and saie, there goes the poyson of puritie,
'the perfection of impietie, the serpentine seducer
'of simplicitie. Zeale herselfe will crie out upon
'thee, and curse the time that euer shee was maskte
'by thy mallice, who, lyke a blinde leader of the
'blinde, sufferedst her to stumble in the dimness of
'her sight, to murther her mother the Churche.'—
Sign. C. 2.

I shall refer to this tract presently upon another point, and would at once pass on to the next, if I could resist quoting an anecdote which the writer gives us of the state of learning among the Puritans: 'A doctor, standing in election for a liuing 'that was then in her Maiestie's bestowing, came

Puritan learning.

'to be examined by men of grauitie in the circum-
'stance of his sufficiencie, who descending eft
'soones into his unschooled simplicitie, gave him
'this little English to be made in Latin. There be
'three Creedes, the Nycene Creede, Athanasius
'Creede, and the Apostles' Creede, all which ought
'to be belieued upon paine of damnation. The
'good simple superintendant, that sawe himselfe so
'hardly beset, craved respite to compasse this vul-
'gar, which graunted, after some deliberation he
'began thus to go forward. *Tria sunt Creda,*
'*vnum Niceni, alterum Athanasii, tertium Apos-*
'*tolorum, quæ omnes debent esse creditum, sub*
'*pœna condemnationis.*'*—*Sign. F.* 1.

* I happen to be able to parallel this in late days, upon the authority of a friend, an ear-witness. At a meeting, some four years ago, in Southampton, the reverend '*the Deputation from the Parent Society*' made a long and wonderful speech, to the admiration of the ladies present: he concluded in a sonorous voice, and with an energetic wave of his hand, that called down loud applause, '*magna est veritas et prævalēbit.*' A clergyman there (albeit a friend, perhaps) could not resist a pun: whether his audience would be alive to it was another matter; but he rose, and having complimented 'the reverend the Deputation' upon his eloquence, begged to say, that 'he was sorry to differ from him, but he could 'not help believing that truth would not merely prevail a 'bit, but that it would prevail a great deal.'

Two or three other stories follow this, exhibiting the absurdity and ribaldry of some of the noted non-conformists in the pulpit, which I refrain from citing, because Martin Marprelate's anecdotes have not been given; and even a more potent reason: these, equally with his, are really not fit to be transcribed. I must, therefore, refer the reader to the original; if he have no means of such reference, I hope that he will hold me excused; and the rather, as they are, in fact, of little importance to our main object, and it appears sufficient to mention, which I have already, that the tracts, on both sides, contain many such tales.

The Month's Mind.

Martin's Month Minde (No. 15) is, without doubt, the cleverest and the most witty of the replies to Martin Marprelate. We cannot be surprised that the contest was getting for a season near its end, and that the men who began it and recommended such a plan, should now think that they had had enough, as it was a game at which two might play; and those only could hope to win when stones of this sort were flying, who had no glass in their own windows.

The title fully explains the object of it. It has two prefatory epistles. The first to Pasquine of England, author of the Countercuffe, compliment-

ing him and pressing the speedy publication of his Lives of the Saints. 'It must needes be a singu-'lar peece of work, and edifie much; especiallie 'against the seuen deadlie sinnes which they never 'transgresse. *Pride*, for they despise all but 'themselves. *Lecherie*, for three at a clappe, their '*heaths* can yeeld them. *Sloath*, for though they 'bee seldom idle, yet they are neuer well occupied. '*Gluttonie*, for they would devoure all. *Couet-'ousness*, for they are never satisfied. *Wrath*, 'for they doo nothing but quarrell. *Enuie*, for 'they cannot abide anie to haue ought, but them-'selues. But especially for the foure cardinall ver-'tues:—*Fortitude*, for they hide their heads. '*Justice*, for they would take from euerie man his 'owne. *Wisedome*, or els I report me to their 'wittie conceits. And *Temperance*, for they go-'uern their passions passingly well. But for the 'three *Theological* vertues they excell, of all that 'euer I heard of:—*Faith*, for I doubt me whether 'they bee of anie. *Hope*, which is to see the 'ouerthrowe of all. And *Charitie*, for they detest 'and damne all but themselves.'—*Sign. A.* 3. The epistle to the reader follows, rather long, giving a history of the rise and growth of Martin among the Puritans, and tracing him from the '*Admonition to*

the Parliament,' down to their last productions, the *Theses* and the *Just Censure*.

Reports of Martin's death.

The author reckons up a vast number of reported ways by which men said (he tells us) that Martin Marprelate had met his death. That he was now defunct all allowed. Some said that he had died abroad, taken by the Spaniards or the Portuguese: others, that he had been killed fighting in the Queen's service; that his horse had stumbled; that he had died of a surfeit; been murdered in prison; been poisoned with 'an Italian figge;' been choked with a fat prebend, &c.; all which reports are commented on and declared to be false.

The true account.

We have then 'the true report.' 'After that old 'Martin, hauing taken a most desperate cause in 'hand, as the troubling of the state, and ouerthrowe 'of the Church (both which attempts at once, '*Alexander the Copper Smith*, that did *Paule* so 'much harme, would neuer haue adventured; nor '*Herostratus* that burned *Diana's* temple, by many 'degrees came neere unto), and being therefore '(and well worthie) sundrie waies verie curstlie 'handled; as first *drie beaten*, and thereby his 'bones broken: (*T. C.*) then whipt that made him 'winse (*a whip for an ape*), then wound and 'launced, that he tooke verie grieuouslie, to be

'made a *Maygame* upon the *stage*, and so bangd, 'both with prose and rime on euerie side, as he 'knewe not which way to turne himselfe, and at 'length cleane *Marde* (*Marre-martin*): the griefe 'whereof vext him out of all crie: and that if he 'were taken, it was to be feared he should be made 'a *Bishop* (of the fields), which name he neuer 'loued, and to weare a tippet,* that he euer de-'tested: but especiallie being drawne so drie (so 'as he could say no more) whereby his radicall 'moisture began to faile him, and his vital powers 'in such sort to decaie, as he saw that he could 'not long continue,—the old gentleman began at 'the length to droope and to mislike himselfe, and 'through meere melancholie fell into a feauer. And 'so hauing taken his bedde, he sent for his Physi-'tions, who albeit they perceived that he was past 'cure, yet loath to lose so profitable a member to 'their commensing commonwealth, they ministered 'to him a potion: but afterwards, when they per-'ceiued that the force thereof wrought so stronglie 'vpon him, as that it *purged away all the consci-'ence, wit, and honestie he had;* and that *Purga-'rentur ea, quæ purgari non oportuit,* a deadlie 'signe, they came vnto him and with teares in their

* A Tyburn tippet (our author means) in Tyburn fields.

'eyes, told him that there was no way with him but 'one; and therefore wisht him to set his worldlie 'affaires in order, that no controuersie might growe 'amongst his, after he was gone.'—*Sign. E.* 3.

Martin's last speech.

Martin then makes his last speech: and explains the three causes of his death. 'The first was my '*foolerie:*' (his 'twaddling tales' and 'fond words 'and phrases'): 'the next was my *ribaudreie.*' 'The third and last meanes that hath brought me 'to my last end, was worst of all; and that was my '*blasphemie,*' &c.: and ends with some advice to his sons ('those two scapethrifts to him, who like 'a couple of good and vertuous babes stood grin-'ning all the while, as glad they should bee chiefe 'Martins themselues'), that it was worse than vain to expect that even if the bishoprics were suppressed and their possessions alienated, themselves would be the gainers. 'Touching the matter you strive 'for, take heede what you do: you shoot at Church 'liuings, you hope to have the spoyle. See what 'hath come by it in Scotland. Forsee what will 'become of it here: forget not the last partition.' And he tells them the fable of the Fox and the Crow. (*Sign. F.* 3. *Rev.*)

His will.

Martin Marprelate's will, his last will and testament, that 'lay sealed in his deske, bound fast with

an hempen string,' is now read to him in the hearing of his sons. Let us also hear the substance of the Puritan's bequests.

'He begun with the vsuall style; next touching 'his bodie, (for it should seeme he had forgotten 'his soule, for the partie that heard it told me, he 'heard no word of it,)' much after the fashion of men now-a-days, 'he would not be buried in any 'church, chappell, nor churchyard, for that they 'had been prophaned with superstition; but in some 'barne, outhouse, or field: without bell, pompe, or 'any solemnitie—minister he would haue none to 'bury him, but his sonne, or some one of his lay 'brethren, to tumble him into the pit.'

I stop here, to caution my reader against supposing that the author of *Martin's Month's Mind* has exaggerated the probabilities of such a case as is here supposed: and it will be necessary upon such a point, one of very great importance, to make some observations.

Puritan Forms of Prayer.

Waldegrave, the Puritan printer (who has already been alluded to), about the year 1583, or 1584, for the book is not dated, though the name is attached, published 'A booke of the Forme of common 'prayers, administration of the Sacraments, &c.: 'agreeable to God's worde, and the vse of the re-

'formed Churches.'* I shall extract from this, the whole Order of Buriall! '*The corps is reue-*
'*rently to be brought to the graue, accompanied*
'*with the neighbours in comely manner, without*
'*any further Ceremonie.*'

It was about this Book that the conference was had, which Bancroft speaks of in his *Daungerous Positions*; † when 'three-score ministers met on 'the 8th of May 1582 at Cockefield, to conferre of 'the common booke, what might be tollerated, and 'what necessarily to be refused in every point of 'it.' And when they had settled and got it ready, it was presented, attached to a petition, to the upper House of Parliament. Bancroft, in the same work, gives us the substance of the petition; viz. 'May 'it therefore please your Majesty &c. that it may 'be enacted &c. that the booke hereunto annexed '&c. intituled: a booke of the forme of common 'prayers, administration of Sacraments &c. and 'every thing therein contained, may be from hence-'forth authorized, put in vse, and practised through-'out all your maiesties dominions.'

But the Puritans were given to change: in 1584,

* In my possession: as are also copies of the editions 1586, and 1587: and of the Scotch Book of 1584.

† Book 3. Ch. 2.

the book presented to the Parliament was most excellent and godly: in 1586, another edition was published, very similar in style and arrangement, but containing many considerable alterations: and in less than a year after, came out a third, further corrected, and, I suppose we must say, improved according to their ideas. After this, even the rapidity of change with which such matters were accomplished about 1550, with regard to our own Book of Common Prayer, must be allowed to have been surpassed.*

With respect to the point more immediately before us, the order of burial, these several corrected and amended *Forms of Common Prayer*, have the same service (shall I venture to call it so?) appointed, word for word.

It may be said, that as these were never authorized, they were but private forms after all: and that, though attempts were made and though it cannot be denied that they were intended to be of authority, yet that is not sufficient. I would then refer to another work; viz. 'The Booke of prayers 'and administration of the Sacramentes, approued 'and received by the Churche of Scotland. 1584.' The Scotch Book of 1584.

* Bancroft, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, Pp. 62—65, gives us an animated account of these changes.

Again, I extract the whole Order of Burial. 'The 'corps is reuerentlie brought to the graue, accom- 'panied with the congregation, without any further 'ceremonies: which being buried, the Minister if 'he be present, and required, goeth to the Church, 'if it be not farr off, and maketh some comfortable 'exhortation to the people, touching death and 'resurrection.'

I cannot say whether this is the order still observed by the members of the establishment, miscalled *the Church of Scotland*, but we know that it was so for many years after this time: and we must also own that it did allow a faint and distant opening for the burying of our dead out of our sight, in somewhat a more decorous way than we should get rid of a dead dog. But still an opening very distant; the minister is to be present; he is to be asked; he is to go to the church only if it be not far off:—a happy concatenation not very favourable to the chance of 'some comfortable exhortation.'

Looking back wistfully to years long gone by, regretting, as we often must, the many good observances which have been taken away from us, how much cause yet of thankfulness have we as mem-

bers of the Church of England, that *not all is gone:* that, for example, in this one point of burial, we still commit the bodies of our fellow-Christians to the earth, as hoping for their blessed resurrection; as knowing that they are not severed really from, although no longer visibly in our Holy Communion; that they are still to be subjects of our pious solicitude, still to be prayed for over the grave, still to be partakers with ourselves in the mysterious blessings which attend the offering up to the Almighty Father, of the Body and the Blood of our risen Lord.

Martin's tomb and epitaph.

I reluctantly return to Martin: 'he would not 'be laid East and West, but North and South: 'Tomb he would haue none, nor Epitaph upon his 'graue, but in some post or tree, not farre from it, 'he would have onelie engraven, *M. M. M.* 'Whereby his sonnes say, he meant, *Memoriæ 'Martini Magni.* But I think rather, this, *Mon-'strum Mundi Martinus.*' (*Sign. G.* 1.)

His legacies.

The will goes on to bequeath various legacies: such as his knavery, his lying and slandering, his foolery, &c. &c. to various persons: 'Item, I bequeath all 'my plots, and modells, that I haue drawne, of 'churches, and commonweales, to the number of

'twelve, for euerie moneth of the year one, to our 'chiefe builders (you know their names) to dispose 'of at their pleasure.'

Death, And so, the narrative goes on, within about half an hour, Martin Marprelate dies. The next day, the physicians open his body, and find, 'a wonder-'full corrupt carcasse;' a hollow heart; lungs, huge and made to prate: a tongue 'wonderfullie swolne 'in his mouth; I thinke by reason of his blasphemie. 'The night after (for the horrible stinke thereof, 'because his bodie was so corrupt), and for that he 'durst not in his life time bee seene by day, being a 'night bird; they carried him foorth in the darke;

and burial. 'and by reason he died excommunicate, and they 'might not therefore burie him in Christian buriall, 'and his will was not to come there in anie wise; 'they brought him vnawares to a dunghill, taking 'it for a tumpe, since a tomb might not be had, and 'there cast him in.' 'And this is the very truth 'of *old Martin's death*, which if the young *Mar-'tins*, or any *Martinist* of them all denie; I cast 'here my mitten upon the quarrel.'—*Sign. G.* 2. *et seq.*

We might have fancied that Martin, being dead, might rest at last; upon the old principle *de mortuis nil nisi bonum.* But our author thought differ-

ently: and feared not to say so. In his prefatory Epistle to Pasquin, speaking of the Martinists, he ends, 'Since they are now become contemptible, 'amongst the most and best, let vs trample on them 'as the dirt of the streete.' So his book finishes, as in fact the history of any one's death perhaps should, with a series of epitaphs, by various contributors. I shall extract the author's own.

The author's epitaph.

'Hic iacet, ut pinus,
Nec Cæsar, nec Ninus,
Nec magnus Godwinus,
Nec Petrus, nec Linus,
Nec plus, nec minus,
Quam clandestinus,
Miser ille Martinus,
Videte singuli.'

'O vos Martinistæ,
Et vos Brounistæ,
Et Famililouistæ,
Et Anabaptistæ,
Et omnes sectistæ,
Et Machiuelistæ,
Et Atheistæ,
Quorum dux fuit iste,
Lugete singuli.'

'At gens Anglorum,
Præsertim verorum,
Nec non, qui morum,
Estis bonorum,
Inimici horum,
Ut est decorum,
Per omne forum,
In sæcula sæculorum,
Gaudete singuli.'
(*Sign. H.* 2.)*

* This epitaph is quoted by Dr. Bliss in his edition of Wood's Athenæ, from Weaver's Funeral Monuments.

CHAPTER IX.

PLAINE Percevall the Peace maker (No. 16) was either published at the same time with the *Month's Minde*, or very shortly after. Almost every one, I know no exception, who has alluded to or professed to give a list of the Marprelate Tracts, has set it down to the credit of his adversary, or has directly attributed it to Nash. (*Confer. Lowndes Bibl. Dict.*) But it is in fact a last gasp of the Puritans: an expression in their extremity of some desire of peace: a wish that they might for a time, until themselves spoke again, be let alone. The quaintness of the title, leaning apparently against Martin Marprelate, would be apt to mislead: and the writer of it struggles to be neutral, but his bias is too strong to be mistaken.

Plaine Percevall.

Written by a Puritan.

The book is tiresome: the spirit of the particular controversy might be said to be at an end; and I do not propose to strain the little remnant of my reader's patience through *Plaine Percevall.* There

is no little anxiety displayed to be witty, or to seem to be so, according to the old tune; but I agree with Percevall himself, that after the spice and peppercorns of the earlier dishes of the feast, *he* follows, 'like a plaine Dunstable groome, with salt and spoones on a trencher.'

Unsuccessful.

Now that, in fact, the battle had been fought, and the assailants beaten out of the field with their own weapons, and (in a sense) upon their own ground, it was too late, and manifestly absurd, that any one should venture forward as a peace-maker, to say, as it were, to two parties no longer equally strong, 'be friends,' and so strive to cover a defeat, and check, by a pretended compromise, the real triumph of the victors. If there is any cleverness at all in the idea, it certainly consists in the attempt to induce men to believe that such really was the case; and if, again, we can give any credit for sincerity to some of our historians, this ruse, though it failed with contemporaries, succeeded with their successors. These seem to have thought that it was not alarm, but a genuine wish for peace, which at last brought the Puritan to complain that there 'was no penaltie to represse such lauish ouer rea-'chers as offer legends of lies to the presse;' that 'heresay is too slender an evidence to spit a man's

'credit upon;' and that it should come to this, as the most reasonable and Christian course, 'Well, 'Martin and you professed Mar-Martins, in presence 'of me Perceuall, shake hands and be friendes, 'meet halfe-way, and I standing jump in the middle, 'will crie aime to you both.'—Pp. 11, 12, 20.

Style of the book.

One consequence of acting a pretended part is shown in this book: both the style and the matter are in many places so obscure and involved, that it is not possible to make sense of it. I would willingly give some specimens of the author's reasoning, but have found the greatest difficulty in selecting one: Plaine Percevall begins a long paragraph addressing *this* side, then turns to *that*, back again to the first, and so on, equal in his favours, until the reader is most successfully mystified, and so far the object of the author gained. (I would refer, for example, to pp, 16, 17, 18.)

The following extract, however, is clear enough, and somewhat to the purpose; addressing (if I am not mistaken) the Mar-Martins. 'Mary who began '(say you:) Martin cald traytor first, he spake la-'vishly, and must heare as knauishly. Now the blood 'is vp; he that hath most gall in his garbage, thinks 'to win the goall. And he that hath most toong 'powder hopes to driue the other out of the field

'first. I could tell these eager youngsters how they 'might be euen with their adversary: giue faire 'words for foule: *Doe good against euill, and 'heape hoat burninge coales vpon his head.* 'That is a sentence sooner belieud, bicause it is 'scripture, then put in practise, for all it is true.'—P. 7. And one more: addressing Martin or his sons: 'O Martin, honor gray heares, during thy 'nonage: or else looke for dishonor and dotage, if 'thou canst get any competent yeeres on thy backe; 'be thou a young boy or a stale batchellar, learne 'to reuerence those two ornaments of a common-'wealth; age and authority. Barre this pert beard-'ing of men reputed honest for their behaviour, 'and honorable both for their calling and counsaile.' —P. 13. I would draw the reader's attention to the qualified praise, *reputed* honest and honourable. It was an enemy that did this.

There now remain only Nos. 17 and 18. *Penry on Reformation* and the *First part of Pasquil's Apology.*

Penry on Reformation.

Penry's name does not appear upon the title, but the preface 'to all those that sincerelie loue the 'Lorde Iesus, and seeke the flourishing estate of 'his Kingdome,' states that it is by him. It is what it professes to be, a treatise: and appearing some

time after the discontinuance of the other Marprelate tracts, one might have hesitated about including it among them, except for the reply to it.

It exhibits the characteristics of Penry's style, an unhesitating conviction of the truth of his cause, and of his own express selection by Providence, as an instrument to forward it. Hence he seeks no more than when he first came forward in its behalf, to mitigate the rancour of his hatred against the laws and government of the Church of Christ: every page would give a specimen of the violence of his language. Thomas Cartwright of his own days, and Bishop Bale chiefly of an earlier generation, are the great authorities he appeals to.

I spoke in the beginning of this volume of the very lamentable effects which the works of some writers, whom men still look up to and regard, have produced in the Church of England. I gave no extract then from Bishop Bale. It may not be useless to take one now, cited by Penry. He is speaking against Episcopacy.

Quotes Bishop Bale.

'The government of the church by bishops, 'began not before the yeare 607, as that reverend 'learned man M. Bale, being a bishop himselfe in 'King Edwards dayes, hath set down: his words 'in English are these: *From the yeare* 607, *the*

'*Church began to be ruled by the polity and go-*
'*vernment of Bishops: which governement was*
'*especially devised and invented by the monks,*
'*&c.** The testimony of M. Bale is true.' *Sign. I. i. Rev.*

I shall make one more quotation. 'I appeale in 'this place,' says Penry, 'vnto the consciences of 'our Prelates: whether if all the preachers in 'England sought the ouerthrow of their hierarchie, 'they would not thrust them al out of their places, 'rather then the church should be deliuered from 'their anti-christian jurisdiction. It is plain they 'would. For B. Cooper† maketh the putting 'downe of Ll. Bb. to be the plain ouerthrow of the 'church. And reading is preaching saieth the 'Archb. Better then for the church to stand by 'these quiet reading murtherers, then to be ouer-'turned by seditious teachers.' *Sign. H. iv. Rev.*

Pasquil's Apology.

To this *Treatise*, the *First part of Pasquil's Apologie* (as its title states) was a reply. The author calls Penry a fugitive: which indeed he was: having escaped pursuit, and taken refuge in Edinburgh. Pasquil writes in the same style as was used in some of the earlier answers; and there

* Bal. Scrip. Bryt. cent. 1. cap. 73.

† Admonition. p. 28.

is little doubt that it is by one of the same hands, perhaps by the author of *The return of Pasquil.*

I shall make only one quotation also from this; which contains Pasquil's reason for his silence. It would appear that some months before, he had thought that the Marprelate attack had been entirely checked. 'But,' he says, 'seeing sobrietie will do 'no good, let them be well assured, that if I catch 'such a brinse in my pen as I caught the last Au- 'gust, I will neuer leaue flynging about with them, 'so long as I finde anie ground to beare me. Con- 'tention is a coale, the more it is blowne by dyspu- 'tation, the more it kindleth, I must spit in theyr 'faces, to put it out. Euer since the last Michel- 'mas Tearme, many thousands of my freendes haue 'looked for me, whom I am loath to enforce to 'loose their longing: and though I gloate through 'the fingers at other matters, yet am I not care- 'lesse of the quarrell nowe in hand. The peace of 'Ierusalem, which the faithfull are bound to praye 'for, is the onely thing that hath brought me to 'thys long and quiet pause; wherein I haue set 'the example of Dauid before mine eyes, seeking 'with my hart a surcease of Armes, euen of those 'that hated peace, and prepared themselues to bat- 'taile when I spake vnto them. The case so stand-

Excuses his silence.

'ing, I trust I am worthy to be held excused, if I 'muster and traine my men a newe.' *Sign. A.* 3. *Rev.*

Anti-Martinus.

Besides the volumes which I have described, there was published in 1589 a Latin tract against Martin Marprelate, of which I give the full title below.* A copy of this is in the Bodleian Library. It is very sensibly written, and its object to prevent the youths of that day being carried away by Martin's misrepresentations of facts, ill-arguments, and lies. It points out the extent which Puritan violence would reach if not checked; that it would not overthrow the Bishops of the Church only, but the ruling powers of the State. The pretended divine call which many of that faction claimed, and that they had authority given them, are also exposed and denied. The author states expressly in his preface that he aims at arguments, and not persons. I have no doubt that this is one of the rarest books connected with the controversy; being written in a learned language, and for a particular

* Antimartinus; seu monitio cujusdam Londinensis ad adoloscentes utriusque academiæ, contra personatum quendam rabulam, qui se Anglicè Martin Marprelat, hoc est, Martinum Μαστιγάρχον, ἢ μισάρχον vocat. Londini. Excudebant Georgius Bishop et Radulphus Newbery. Anno Domini 1589. 4to. Pp. 60.

class, it is probable that the original edition was somewhat limited.

There were also at least two, perhaps more, poetical tracts against Martin. One of these, *Mar-Mar-tine*, was written soon after the *Hay any Worke for Cooper*, or the *Dialogue of Tyrannical Dealing*. It begins (I take the account from Herbert)— Mar-Martin.

'I knowe not why a trueth in rime set out
'Maie not as wel mar Martine and his mates,
'As shamelesse lies in prose-books cast about,
'Mar priests, & prelates, and subvert whole states.
'For where truth builds, and lying overthroes,
'One truth in rime, is worth ten lies in prose.'

The book consists of satirical epitaphs, much I suppose after the fashion of those in the *Month's Minde*, alluded to already.*

This production excited the wrath of the Martinists. The author of the *Just Censure and Reproofe* says, 'I would have born with thee, if thou 'haddest taken a little paines in ryming with Mar-'Martin, that the cater-caps may knowe howe the 'meanest of my father's sonnes is able to answeare 'them, both at blunt and sharpe. And for thy

* Mar-Martine is reprinted in the Censura Literaria, vi. 236.

'further instruction against another time, heere is
'a sample for thee of that, which in such like cases
'thou art to performe. ¶ The first rising, genera-
'tion, and originall of Mar-Martin.

1.

'From Sarum came a gooses egge,
'with specks and spots bepatched,
'A priest of Lambeth coucht thereon;
'thus was Mar-Martin hatched.
'Whence hath Mar-Martin all his wit
'but from that egge of Sarum?
'The rest comes all from great Sir John,
'who rings vs all this larum.

2.

'What can the cockatrice hatch up,
'but serpent like himselfe?
'What sees the Ape within the glass
'but a deformed elfe?
'Then must Mar-Martin have some smell
'of forge or else of fire,
'A sotte in wit, a beast in minde,
'for so was damme and sire.'

Sign. D. iij. Quoted also by Herbert.

Whip for an ape.

The other poetical tract is, *A Whip for an Ape, or Martin displaied.** It begins—

* Reprinted by Mr. D'Israeli in his *Quarrels of Authors.*

'Since reason, Martin, cannot stay thy pen,
'We'il see what rime will do: have at thee then!'

One stanza bears upon a point which has already been spoken of, and I therefore quote it as confirming my own view:—

'And ye graue men that answere Martin's mowes,
'He mocks the more, and you in vain loose times.
'Leaue Apes to Doggs to baite, their skins to crowes,
'And let old *Lanam* lashe him with his rimes.
'The beast is proud when men note his enditings;
'Let his workes goe the waie of all wast writings.'

Both these tracts are a single sheet each of four leaves, and copies are in the libraries of the British Museum and Bodley.

Plays were acted against Martin.

Another effective weapon was used against the Puritans, but soon forbidden by the government, viz. the stage. The theatrical history of that period is somewhat obscure; and there is not any play now extant which was performed with the especial object of ridiculing Martin.

There are several allusions to him in plays of the same date; one or two, perhaps, may be traced in Shakspere; but it seems clear that allusions only were not the limits. Martin Marprelate was put forward as a character. We have a proof of this in

a passage, wherein the author of *Pappe with an Hatchet* complains that these representations had been put a stop to. He says, 'Would those Comedies might be allowed to be plaid that are pend, and then I am sure he (*i. e.* Martin) would be decyphered, and so perhaps discouraged. *He shall not be brought in as whilom he was,* and yet verie well, with a cocks combe, an apes face, a wolfe's bellie, cats clawes, &c.; but in a cap'de cloake, and all the best apparel he ware the highest day in the yeare, thats neither on Christmas daie, Good fridaie, Easter daie, Ascension, nor Trinitie sundaie, (for that were popish,) but on some rainie weeke-daie, when the brothers and sisters had appointed a match for particular praiers, a thing as bad at the least as auricular confession.' —*Sign. D. 2. Rev.*

In 1589 the introduction of matters connected with religion into plays had become so extensive, that Burghley (who occasionally threw his shield over the Puritans) issued a commission to inquire what companies of players had offended. A valuable document has lately been discovered, in which Shakspere, and some twenty of his fellow-players, disclaim their having been concerned in any of these objectionable representations.*

* *Vide* Knight's Shakspere, a Biography, p. 342.

CHAPTER X.

WE have now gone through all the volumes of this famous Controversy, which I believe to be included in it, and therefore proposed to examine: and there remain only a few points upon which some observations are necessary, with which I shall conclude.

Date of the Marprelate tracts.

And first, the date of these publications. They have been set down as about the year 1590, which, speaking generally, is not incorrect. The *Epistle* and *Epitome* were both published in 1588. The first edition of the *Admonition** before the

* The copy which I have used, is a second edition, with a date, 1589. It is almost page for page and line for line, identical with the other. The first is known from two alterations; one in p. 40, where *dare* in the text is pasted over with *can*, and one in p. 135, the assertion *they will not denie*, is modified into *it is not yet proued*, also pasted over. Both these are properly corrected in the second edition. We are indebted to Martin's keen eye for the detection of these (*Hay any Worke*, p. 38), who chuckles and says that he has already 'made the Bishops pull in their hornes;' and indeed the circumstance is very remarkable. Copies of both editions are in the Bodleian.

end of that year, or early in 1589 (as we now compute). Bishop Cooper complains how lamentable a thing it was that such books as the Marprelate's should be in men's hands and bosoms, 'when the 'viewe of the mightie Navie of the Spaniards is 'scant passed out of our sight: when the terrible 'sound of their shot ringeth, as it were, yet in our 'eares.'—P. 33.

Nor had the winter passed away when Martin's answer (*Hay any Worke*) was published. 'I can-'not,' he says, 'be got to tell them where I am, 'because I loue not the ayre of the Clinke or Gate-'house in this colde time of winter.'—P. 2. The Queen's proclamation, as given in *Wilkins*, Vol. 4, P. 340. against certain seditious and schismatical books and libels, is dated Feb. 13th, 1588, *i.e.* 1589, new style. The *Countercuffe* is dated the *eyght of August*, and the *return of Pasquill* 20th of October, in the same year. The intermediate months would be fully occupied with the other pamphlets, and winter was again near at hand, if not already come, when the '*Month's Mind*,' dated 1589, was written.—(Vide *Sign. A.* 2.) At the same time, or shortly after, as I have already said, came out *Plain Percevall.*

Lastly, the *first part of Pasquil's Apology*, which

finished the whole, is dated 'From my Castell and 'Collours at London Stone the 2. of July. Anno. '1590.'

The Authors of them.

A far less easy task is it, even to guess at the authors. The tracts on the Marprelate side have usually been attributed to Penry, Throgmorton, Udal, and Fenner. Very considerable information may be obtained about these writers, in Wood's Athenæ, under *Penry*, in Collier, Strype, and Herbert's edition of Ames. To whom I would refer. After a careful examination of these and other authorities on the subject, the question remains in my judgment as obscure as before; and I think that it is very far from clear, that either one of the three last named was actually concerned in the authorship of any of the pamphlets.

It is undeniable that they were written by several persons. I say undeniable, in spite of the author of the *Almond for a Parratt*, who attributes all to Penry. 'Let all posteritie that shall heare 'of his knauerie, attend the discovery which now 'I will make of his villanie. Pen. I. Pen. Welch 'Pen. Pen the Protestationer, Demonstrationer, 'Supplicationer, Appellationer, Pen. the father, 'Pen. the sonne, Pen. totum in toto et totum in 'qualibet parte.'—*Sign. E.* 2. *Rev.* I would add

that in the *Epitome*, Sign. F. 1. Rev. the *Epistle* is quoted as by another hand. And there are no two tracts so similar in style and method as those.

Penry's fate.

But Penry deserves so much at our hands, as a few words to declare his fate. He remained in Scotland, after his escape from the warrant issued in 1589, until 1593. In that year he prepared a petition which he intended to deliver to the Queen himself, and for that purpose came to London, where he closely concealed himself in the suburbs. But he was discovered in the parish of Stepney; taken prisoner, and having been tried for sedition at Westminster, was shortly afterwards hanged. Strype,* from whom I take the above, quotes a remarkable wish expressed in one of his known publications; that if certain things did not happen, '*let not my* '*head go to the grave in peace.*'

The authors against Martin.

We might have expected more certainty with regard to the writers against Martin Marprelate: but as we have already seen, here also we are disappointed; and all that remains appears to be, to prevent, if possible, the connecting them with wrong names. Nash, from general consent, was probably one; John Lilly, the Euphuist, another, upon the authority of Oldys, who allots to him *Pappe with*

* Life of Whitgift. P. 410.

a Hatchet; but if he wrote any of them, I should say not that, but the *Almond for a Parratt:* it is much more in his style, and I would refer the reader to the extract from that book, given before (p. 183). The sentence, 'The humours of my 'eies, &c.' seems conclusive.

Two or three years after the date of this controversy (viz. 1593) a quarrel of long standing was in full vigour between Nash and Gabriel Harvey. The latter published a quarto volume, now very rare, against Nash, entitled 'Pierce's Supererogation, or, a new praise of the old Ass.' Harvey was a learned man: his books overflow from the most queer accumulation which he had made from all sorts of authors, upon all sorts of subjects; he knew something also of the classics; he was a pedant, and absurdly vain. His enemy was a wit; himself an excellent butt. This particular volume, *Pierce's Supererogation,* shows how deeply its author had been stung, and exhibits both his own foolery of style in the highest perfection, and a wonderful mixture of originality of thought, with the result of long study.

I quote his work now as of no little importance to our subject. Writing against Nash, he charges his friend Lilly with the authorship of *Pappe with a Hatchet.* (I doubt much whether Harvey's

accusation has not been the chief evidence upon the point.) He then acknowledges that himself had been accused of having written some of the Marprelate tracts, and, *much after Plaine Percevall's style*, complains of the whole affair, speaks in disparagement of Martin, and in more decided language against his answerers, as would be natural, his own enemies, Nash and Lilly, (as the report went,) being of them. He abuses the *Pappe* with right good will; but his hatred of the supposed author peeps through as the real cause, together with a strong leaning towards the Puritans. Doctor Perne (of whom enough has been already said) comes in for a fair share of his satire, and both well-placed and well-spoken it is.*

How far the chief Puritans were connected with Martin.

A much more important point is it, to prove that the Marprelate Tracts were not only connived at (which is acknowledged), but recommended by, and their authors known to the leaders of the Puritan party.

In the *Just Censure* occurs a passage much to the purpose. It shows that at the time of publication, men were generally used to connect the

* *Pierce's Supererogation* is reprinted in the second volume of Sir. E. Brydges's Archaica.

names of Cartwright, and Paget, and Travers, with these libels. When the experiment failed, however much their then followers, and afterwards their apologists, have laboured to throw off from them so great odium, yet Martin himself allows that *at the time* such was the common report. I have already said, that there is no plain, sincere-looking denial of such connexion in the known writings of those men.

In the *Just Censure*, the writer makes the Bishop of London say at the table of the High Commissioners, 'My Masters, you must not sleepe 'in this matter. I will be a pursuivant myselfe, 'rather than abide this tumult. If I were, I trowe 'I would watch about Traverse his house in Milke-'streete, who go in and out there, and I would 'know what they caried vnder their cloakes too. 'There is Paget at Hounslo, &c.—There is Cart-'wright too at Warwicke, he hath got him such a 'companie of disciples, both of the worshipfull, or 'other of the poorer sort, as we have no cause to 'thanke him. Neuer tell me, that hee is too graue 'to trouble himselfe with Martins conceits.—Cart-'wright seeks the peace of the Church no otherwise 'than his platform may stande. I doe not see of

'my trothe, but that Martin's abettors may be 'worse than himselfe, and doe more mischiefe.'—*Sign. D.* ij.

Pasquil tells Marforius also in his Dialogue, that passing by Martin, he must have 'three courses of 'the launce with Th. Cartwright. Hath Martin 'made him his God, and thinketh he to escape my 'fingers?' The author of the *Almond for a Parratt*, sums up a long history of Cartwright, beginning from his disappointment about the Vice-chancellorship of Cambridge, by praying that pride which overthrew Golias, Haman, and Herod, 'will 'also confound arrogant T. C. and all his accom-'plishes in the Lord's good time.'—*Sign. D.* 2. *Rev.*

It is not therefore surprising that when Cartwright was brought before the Commissioners in 1590, among the articles objected were two, accusing him of knowing who wrote and printed 'several 'libels, going under the name of Martin Marprelate.' And it is remarkable, that he refused to deny upon oath that he had such a knowledge: to which refusal we must of course give the credit which Neal claims for him and others of the same sort, viz.: '*That the honest puritans made conscience of*

'*not denying any thing they were charged with,*
'*if it was true.*' *

A summary of the objects aimed at by the Puritans cannot be here out of place: and we will refer once more to Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross. As a contemporary he knew them well. 'They do 'affirme that when Christ used these words, *Dic* '*ecclesiæ*, he ment thereby to establish in the church 'for ever the same plat and forme of ecclesiastical 'government, to be erected in everie parish, which '*Moses* by *Iethroes* councell appointed in Mount 'Sinaie; and which afterward the Iewes did imitate 'in their particular synagogs.

Bancroft's account of the Puritan platform.

'They had (saie these men) in their synagogs 'their priests, we must have in every parish our 'pastors: they their Levites, we our doctors: they 'their rulers of their synagogs, we our elders: they 'their leviticall treasurers, we our deacons.

'This forme of government they call the taber-'nacle which God hath appointed—the court of the 'Lorde, and the shining foorth of God's glorie. 'Where this ecclesiasticall synode is not erected, 'they say Gods ordinance is not performed; the 'office of Christ as he is a king is not acknowledged:

* Vol. i. P. 171.

'in effect that without this government we can never 'attaine to a right and true feeling of Christian re- 'ligion, but are to be reckoned amongst those who 'are accounted to saie of Christ as it is in *Luke*, 'we will not have this man to raigne over us.

'And their conclusion upon this point against 'all that do withstande their governement is this, 'according as it likewise followeth in the same 'place: Those mine enemies which would not that 'I should raigne over them, bring hither and slay 'them before me.' Pp. 8 and 9.

Conclusion. Little more remains to be said. I trust that my readers will not think that I have been over-liberal in the extracts which I have thought it necessary to make. The subject may not perhaps be so entertaining as some would wish it, and though each tract separately is not of much interest, except for the quaint allusions to local customs, and manners of the day, which several of them furnish (and which I have been obliged to omit noticing), yet together they throw very considerable light upon the religious history of the age, and prove equally the extremes to which the doctrines of the Reformation were speedily carried, and the peril in which its genuine disciples soon placed the Church of England.

Martin Marprelate was most rapid in his growth; sudden in his attack; novel in his method; we have seen that sober reasoning was powerless against him, and equally so the strong arm of the Privy Council:* but at last he was struck down with almost a like suddenness. Scarcely more than a single year saw both the beginning and the end of his attempt. Nevertheless, it was not only the great controversy of that year, but *the controversy* of the Elizabethan age. We must not so much estimate it by the shortness of the time it occupied, as by the various circumstances which had been long tending towards it, and of which it was, though monstrous, the matured produce; and by the consequences to which it led.

The Puritans had been making many struggles: working openly, working secretly: losing no opportunities of carrying on to full perfection the fantas-

* It may, indeed, be doubted whether the Privy Council was sincere against the Puritans: Fuller says that there lay the great strength of that party, even as the Archbishop and the High Commission were its chief enemies; and Strype in his life of Parker tells us, that when the *Admonition to the Parliament* was ordered under heavy penalties to be brought into the diocesan within twenty days, so little attention was paid to it, that not one copy ever reached any of the Bishops.

tic theories, and wild heretical absurdities of the earlier reformers; pouring out their abuse of Catholic practice in private conventicles, in lectures from the pulpit, in exercises, and in more moderate language, by means of the press. All this was not a disunited effort by individuals, but the plan of a clever, earnest party, working in concert, under most able guidance, and careless what were the instruments they used. They had an object before them, sufficient to justify any means however bad. At last they ventured upon *Martin:* ventured, if not beyond their own depth, at any rate beyond the sympathy of lookers on: people were amused it may be, but at the first check regained their senses, and took part against them; and Puritanism for some years, until that generation had passed away, received a blow under which it staggered, without a hope of recovery, until fresh strength and energy were again given it, from sources which would have been abhorred by its Elizabethan chiefs; and by the enlisting among its ranks a multifarious host, who sought, and with success, to use it as a political weapon for the attainment of mere worldly ends.*

* In the early part of the Rebellion against Charles I. several of the old Marprelate tracts were reprinted, and diligently dispersed.

And let us not forget, in any further inquiries which we may be desirous to make, that Puritanism in those days, neither asked nor wished for *toleration*. To tolerate and to be tolerated, was a liberality unknown until nearly a century afterwards, and not dreamt of in days of more real earnestness and sincerity. It is a praise which is due to all parties in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that they did not attempt to aim at popularity, by sacrificing what they believed to be the truth, according to the gospel: and they did not try to twist the plain words of Holy Writ, so that they might convey two meanings, and allow men to choose in quiet which they would. Religion and religious ordinances were then considered to be the thing needful, not merely to be observed, but to be observed rightly. For example; the Church commanded all men, kneeling to receive the Blessed Eucharist; her adversaries as stoutly enforced the necessity of sitting; the *Admonition to the Parliament* does not suggest any thing short of the 'total overthrow,' and 'sharp punishment' of the strange and forbidden officers, Lord Bishop, Suffragan, &c.: it asks not permission only for their own form of prayers, but for the quick removal also of 'that prescript Order of Service made out of the Mass-book.' All this is in-

telligible, and infinitely more like a love of truth than statesmen's politics now-a-days; who desire to forget nothing so much, as that there is One Catholic Church: and whose unlimited toleration seems to be nothing less than the cursed attempt to unite Christ and Belial, God and mammon; nothing less than an inviting of every man to lose his own soul in any way that he may think proper.

THE END.

C. WHITTINGHAM, CHISWICK.

2058

285.9K
M37

Maskell, W.

A history of the Martin Marprelate controversy.

285.9K
M37

2058